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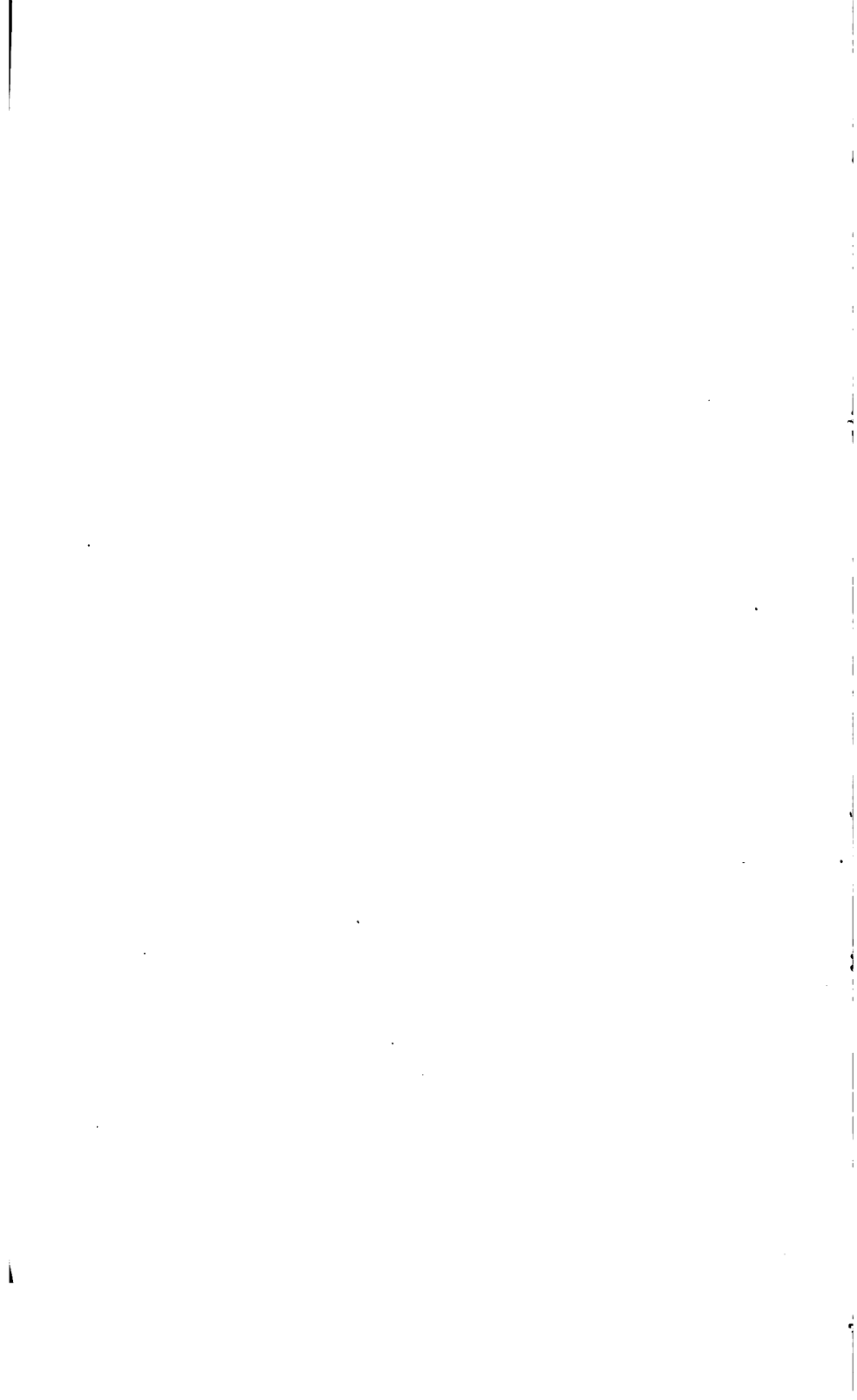
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE
DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND,
By **OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M.B.**
THE TWELFTH EDITION, CORRECTED;
WITH
A CONTINUATION
TO THE
DEATH OF GEORGE THE THIRD,
By **CHARLES COOTE, LL.D.**

IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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But, favourable as these circumstances were, Henry soon showed that they went but a short way in forming a good character ; they were merely the gifts of nature, or accomplishments implanted by the assiduity of his father ; but he wanted the more solid advantages, which were to be of his own formation,—a good heart, and a sound understanding. The learning he had, if it may deserve that appellation, served only to inflame his pride, but not control his vicious affections ; the love of his subjects broke out in their flattery ; and this was another meteor to lead him astray. His vast wealth, instead of relieving the public, or increasing his power, only contributed to supply his debaucheries, or gratify the rapacity of the ministers of his pleasures. But it would have been happy for his people if his faults had rested here : he was a tyrant ; humanity takes the alarm at his cruelties ; and, however fortunate some of his measures might prove in the event, every good man must revolt at his motives, and the means he took for their accomplishment.

The first action which showed that the present reign was to be very different from the former, was the punishment of Empsom and Dudley, who were obnoxious to the populace for having been the ready instruments of the late king's rapacity. They were immediately cited before the council, in order to answer for their conduct ; but Empsom in his defence alleged, that, far from deserving censure, his actions rather merited reward and approbation. Though a strict execution of the law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accused ; although these laws had been established by the voluntary consent of the people ; notwithstanding all their expostulations, Empsom and Dudley were sent to the Tower, and soon after brought to their trial. As

the strict discharge of their duty, in executing A. D. the laws, could not be alleged against them as 1510. a crime, to gratify the people with their punishment they were accused of having entered into a conspiracy against the present king, and of intentions to seize by force the administration of government. Nothing could be more improbable and unsupported than such a charge; nevertheless the jury were so far infected with popular prejudice, that they gave a verdict against them; and they were both executed some time after, by a warrant from the king.

This measure, which betrayed an unjust compliance with popular clamour, was followed by another still more detrimental to the nation, although still more pleasing to the people. Julius the Second was at that time pope, and had filled all Europe with his intrigues and ambition; but his chief resentment was leveled against Lewis the Twelfth, king of France, who was in possession of some valuable provinces of Italy, from which he hoped by his intrigues to remove him. For this purpose he entered into a treaty with Ferdinand, king of Spain, and Henry of England; to each of whom he offered such advantages as were most likely to inflame their ambition, in case they fell upon Lewis on their respective quarters; while he undertook himself to find him employment in Italy. Henry, who had no other motives but the glory of the expedition, and the hopes of receiving the title of the most Christian King, which the pope assured him would soon be wrested from Lewis to be conferred upon him, readily A. D. undertook to defend his cause; and his parlia- 1512. ment, being summoned, as readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favoured by the people. The spirit of chivalry and of foreign conquest was not yet quite extinguished among the English: the kingdom of France

was still an object they desired to possess ; and Henry, in compliance with their wishes, gave out that he intended striking for the crown. It was in vain that one of his old prudent counsellors objected, that conquests on the continent would only drain the kingdom without enriching it : and that England, from its situation, was not fitted to enjoy extensive empire : the young king, deaf to all remonstrances, and burning with military ardour, resolved to undertake the war. The marquis of Dorset was first sent over, with a large body of forces, to Fontarabia, to assist the operations of Ferdinand : but that faithless and crafty monarch had no intentions of effectually seconding their attempts ; wherefore they were obliged to return home without effect.

A considerable fleet was equipped, some time after, A. D. to annoy the enemy by sea, and the command 1513. intrusted to sir Edward Howard ; who, after scouring the Channel for some time, presented himself before Brest, where the French navy lay, and challenged them to combat. As the French were unequal to the enemy, they determined to wait for a reinforcement, which they expected, under the command of Prejent de Bidoux, from the Mediterranean. But in this the gallant Howard was resolved to disappoint them ; and upon the appearance of Prejent with six galleys, who had time to take refuge behind some batteries which were planted on the rocks that lay on each side of him, he boldly rowed up with two galleys, followed by barges filled with officers of distinction. Upon coming up to Prejent's ship, he immediately fastened upon it, and leaped on board, followed by one Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and seventeen Englishmen. The cable, meanwhile, which fastened both ships together, was cut by the enemy, and the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French ; but as he still continued to fight with

great gallantry, he was pushed overboard by their pikes, and perished in the sea. Upon this misfortune the fleet retired from before Brest; and the French navy for a while kept possession of the sea.

This slight repulse only served to inflame the king's ardour to take revenge upon the enemy; and he soon after sent a body of eight thousand men to Calais, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury; and another body of six thousand followed shortly after, under the conduct of Lord Herbert. He prepared to follow himself with the main body and rear; and arrived at Calais, attended by numbers of the English nobility. But he soon had an attendant, who did him still more honour. This was no less a personage than Maximilian, emperor of Germany, who had stipulated to assist him with eight thousand men; but, being unable to perform his engagements, joined the English army with some German and Flemish soldiers, who were useful in giving an example of discipline to Henry's new-levied soldiers. He even enlisted himself in the English service, wore the cross of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns per day, as one of Henry's subjects and captains.

Henry being now at the head of a formidable army, fifty thousand strong, it was supposed that France must fall a victim to his ambition. But that kingdom was not threatened by him alone; the Swiss, on another quarter, with twenty-five thousand men, were preparing to invade it; while Ferdinand of Arragon, whom no treaties could bind, was only waiting for a convenient opportunity of attack on his side to advantage. Never was the French monarchy in so distressed a situation; but the errors of its assailants procured its safety. The Swiss entered into a treaty with Trimouille, the French general, who gave them their own terms, satisfied that

his master would rescind them all, as not having given him any powers to treat ; Ferdinand continued to remain a quiet spectator, vainly waiting for some effectual blow to be struck by his allies ; and Henry spent his time in the siege of towns, which could neither secure his conquests, nor advance his reputation.

The first siege was that of Terouenne, in Picardy, which kept him employed for more than a month, although the garrison scarcely amounted to two thousand men. The besieged, after some time, being in want of provisions, a very bold and desperate attempt was made to supply them, which was attended with success. A French captain, whose name was Fontrailles, led up a body of eight hundred men, each of whom carried a bag of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon behind him. With this small force he made a fierce and unexpected irruption into the English camp ; and, surmounting all resistance, advanced to the ditch of the town, where each horseman threw down his burthen. Then immediately returning upon the gallop, they were again so fortunate as to break through the English without any great loss in the undertaking. But the cavalry sent to cover the retreat were not so successful. Though they were commanded by the boldest and bravest captains of the French army, yet on sight of the English they were seized with such an unaccountable panic, that they immediately fled, and had many of their best officers taken prisoners. This action was called by the French the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought ; but by the English the battle of the Spurs, as the French, on that day, made more use of their spurs than their swords, to procure safety.

After this victory, which might have been followed with very important consequences, had the victors marched forward to Paris, Henry sat down to make

sure of the little town which had made such an obstinate resistance; and found himself, when it was obliged to surrender, master of a place which neither recompensed the blood nor the delay that were expended in the siege.

From one error Henry went on to another. He was persuaded to lay siege to Tournay, a great and rich city of Flanders, which at that time was in possession of the French. This siege, though it took up little time, yet served to retard the great object, which was the conquest of France; and Henry, hearing that the Swiss had returned home, and being elated with his trifling successes, resolved to transport his army back to England, where flattery was put to the torture to make him happy in the glory of his ridiculous expedition. A peace was concluded soon after between the two kingdoms; and Henry continued to dissipate, in more peaceful follies, those immense sums which had been amassed by his predecessor for very different purposes.

The success which, during his foreign expedition, attended his arms in the north of England, was much more important and decisive. A war having been declared between the English and Scots, who ever took the opportunity to fall on when their neighbours were embroiled with France, the king of that country summoned out the whole force of his kingdom; and, having passed the Tweed with a body of fifty thousand men, ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay along the banks of that river. But as his forces were numerous, and the country barren, he soon began to want provisions; so that many of his men deserted, and returned to their native country. In the mean time the earl of Surrey, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, approached the Scots, who were encamped on a rising ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran

between the armies, and prevented an engagement; wherefore the earl of Surrey sent a herald to the Scottish camp, challenging the enemy to descend into Flodden plain, and there to try their valour on equal ground. This offer not being accepted, he made a feint, as if he intended marching towards Berwick; which putting the Scots in motion to annoy his rear, he took advantage of a great smoke caused by firing their huts, and passed the little river which had hitherto prevented the engagement. Both armies now perceiving that a combat was inevitable, they prepared for the onset with great composure and regularity. The English divided their army into two lines; lord Thomas Howard led the main body of the first line; sir Edmund Howard the right wing, and sir Marmaduke Constable the left; the earl of Surrey himself commanded the main body of the second line, assisted by lord Dacres and sir Edward Stanley to the right and the left. The Scots, on the other hand, presented three divisions to the enemy; the middle commanded by the king himself, the right by the earl of Huntley, and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyll; a fourth division, under the earl of Bothwell, made a body of reserve. Lord Huntley began the onset, charging the division of sir Marmaduke Constable with such fury, that it was immediately thrown into confusion: but it was so seasonably supported, that the men rallied, and the battle became general. Both sides fought a long time with incredible impetuosity, until the Highlanders, being galled by the English artillery, broke in, sword in hand, upon the main body commanded by the earl of Surrey; and at the head of these James fought with the most forward of the nobility. They attacked with such velocity, that the hinder line could not advance in time to sustain them, so that a body of English intercepted their retreat. James, being thus

almost surrounded by the enemy, refused to quit the field while it was yet in his power ; but, alighting from his horse, formed his little body into an orb, and in this posture fought with such desperate courage as restored the battle. The English therefore were again obliged to have recourse to their artillery and arrows, which made a terrible havock ; but night separating the combatants, it was not till the day following that lord Howard perceived that he had gained a great and glorious victory. The English lost no persons of note ; but the flower of the Scottish nobility fell. Ten thousand of the common men were cut off ; and a body, supposed to be that of the king, was sent to London, where it remained unburied, as a sentence of excommunication still remained against him for having leagued with France against the Holy See. But upon Henry's application, who pretended that James in the instant before his death had discovered some signs of repentance, absolution was given him, and the body was interred. However, the populace of Scotland still continued to think their king alive ; and it was given out among them that he had secretly gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

These successes only served to intoxicate Henry ; and while his pleasure, on the one hand, engrossed his time, the preparations for repeated expeditions exhausted his treasures. As it was natural to suppose that the old ministers, who had been appointed by his father to direct him, would not readily concur in these idle projects, Henry had, for some time, discontinued asking their advice, and chiefly confided in the counsels of Thomas, afterwards cardinal Wolsey, who seemed to second him in his favourite pursuits. Wolsey was a minister who complied with all his master's inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine

and impetuous temper was inclined. He was the son of a private gentleman (and not of a butcher, as is commonly reported) of Ipswich. He was sent to Oxford so early, that he was a bachelor at fourteen, and was therefore called the boy bachelor. He arose by degrees, upon quitting college, from one preferment to another, till he was made rector of Lymington by the marquis of Dorset, whose children he had instructed. He had not long resided at this living, when one of the justices of the peace put him in the stocks for being drunk, and raising disturbances at a neighbouring fair. This disgrace, however, did not retard his promotion; for he was recommended as chaplain to Henry the Seventh; and being employed by that monarch in a secret negotiation respecting his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, he acquitted himself to that king's satisfaction, and obtained the praise both of diligence and dexterity. That prince, having given him a commission to Maximilian, who at that time resided at Brussels, was surprised in less than three days after to see Wolsey present himself before him; and, supposing that he had been delinquent, began to reprove his delay. Wolsey, however, surprised him with assurances that he had just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. His dispatch on that occasion procured him the deanry of Lincoln; and in this situation it was that he was introduced by Fox, bishop of Winchester, to the young king's notice, in hopes that he would have talents to supplant the earl of Surrey, who was favourite at that time: and, in this respect, the conjectures of Fox were not erroneous. Presently after being introduced at court, he was made a privy councillor; and, as such, had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himself with the young king, as he appeared at once complying, submissive, and enterprising. Wolsey

used every art to suit himself to the royal temper; he sang, laughed, and danced with every libertine of the court; neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any restraint upon him, or tended to check, by ill-timed severities, the gaiety of his companions. To such a weak and vicious monarch as Henry, qualities of this nature were highly pleasing. Wolsey was soon acknowledged as his favourite, and was intrusted with the chief administration of affairs. The people began to see with indignation the new favourite's mean condescensions to the king, and his arrogance to themselves. They had long regarded the vicious haughtiness and the unbecoming splendour of the clergy, with envy and detestation; and Wolsey's greatness served to bring a new odium upon that body, already too much the object of the people's dislike. His character, being now placed in a more conspicuous point of light, daily began to manifest itself the more. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded in enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive, and at other times lofty, elevated, and commanding; haughty to his equals, yet affable to his dependents; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; he was formed to take the ascendant in every intercourse, and vain enough not to cover his real superiority.

He had been advanced to the bishopric of Lincoln; but this he resigned on being promoted to the archbishopric of York. Upon the capture of Tournay, he had been preferred to the see of that place; but besides, he gained possession, at very low leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who

were glad to compound for this indulgence by parting with a considerable share of their profits. Besides many other church preferments, he was allowed to unite with the see of York, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and his appetite seemed to increase by A. D. the means that were taken to satisfy it. The

1515. pope, observing his great influence over the king, was desirous of engaging him in his interests, and created him a cardinal. His train consisted of eight hundred servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and whoever were distinguished by any art or science, paid court to the cardinal, and were often liberally rewarded. He was the first clergyman in England who wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles, and the trappings of his horses.

Besides these various distinctions, the pope soon after conferred upon him that of legate, designing thus to make him instrumental in draining the kingdom of money, upon pretence of employing it in a war against the Turks, but in reality with a view to fill his own coffers. In this he so well served the court of Rome, that, some time after, the post of legate was conferred upon him for life; and he now united in his person the promotions of legate, cardinal, archbishop, and prime minister.

Soon after, Warham, chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a very moderate temper, chose rather to retire from public employment than maintain an unequal contest with the haughty cardinal. Wolsey instantly seized the chancellorship, and exercised the duties of that employment with great abilities and impartiality. The duke of Norfolk, finding the kings' treasures exhausted, and his taste for expense still con

tinuing, was glad to resign his office of treasurer, and retire from court. Fox, bishop of Winchester, who had been instrumental in Wolsey's rise, withdrew himself in disgust; the duke of Suffolk also went home with a resolution to remain private; whilst Wolsey availed himself of their discontents, and filled up their places by his creatures, or his personal assiduity. These were vast stretches of power; and yet the churchman was still insatiable. He procured a bull from the pope, empowering him to make knights and counts, to legitimate bastards, to give degrees in arts, law, physic, and divinity, and to grant all sorts of dispensations. So much pride and power could not avoid giving high offence to the nobility: yet none dared vent their indignation; so greatly were they in terror of his vindictive temper.

In order to divert their envy from his inordinate exaltation, he soon entered into a correspondence with Francis the First, of France, who had taken many methods to work upon his vanity and at last succeeded. In consequence of that monarch's wishes, Henry was persuaded by the cardinal to restore Tournay to the French; and he also agreed to an interview with A. D. Francis. This expensive congress was held between Guisnes and Ardres, near Calais, within the English pale, in compliment to Henry for crossing the sea. The two monarchs, after saluting each other in the most cordial manner, retired into a tent erected for the purpose, where Henry proceeded to read the articles of their intended alliance. As he began to read the first words of it, "I, Henry, king," he stopped a moment, and then subjoined only "of England," without adding France, the usual style of English monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed his approbation by a smile. Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the nobility of both courts on this occasion. Many of

them involved themselves in large debts ; and the penury of a life was scarcely sufficient to reimburse the extravagance of a few days. Beside, there at first appeared something low and illiberal in the mutual distrusts that were conspicuous on this occasion : the two kings never met without having the number of their guards counted on both sides ; every step was carefully adjusted ; they passed each other in the middle point between both places, when they went to visit their queens ; and at the same instant that Henry entered Ardres, Francis put himself into the hands of the English at Guisnes. But Francis, who is considered as the first restorer of true politeness in Europe, put an end to this illiberal method of conversing. Taking one day with him two gentlemen and a page, he rode directly into Guisnes, crying out to the English guards, that they were their prisoners, and desiring to be carried to their master. Henry was not a little astonished at the appearance of Francis ; and taking him in his arms, " My brother," said he, " you have here given me the most agreeable surprise ; you have shown me the full confidence I may place in you ; I surrender myself your prisoner from this moment." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls of great value, and, putting it on Francis, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. Francis agreed ; and, giving him a bracelet of double the value of the former, insisted on his wearing it in turn. Henry went the next day to Ardres, without guards or attendants ; and confidence being now sufficiently established between these monarchs, they employed the rest of the time in feasts and tournaments.

Some months before, a defiance had been sent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities of Europe, importing that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready in the plains of

Picardy to answer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt and tourney. Accordingly the monarchs now, gorgeously appareled, entered the lists on horseback; Francis surrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with those of Francis. They were both at that time the most comely personages of their age, and prided themselves on their expertness in the military exercises. The ladies were the judges in these feats of chivalry; and they put an end to the encounter whenever they thought proper. It is supposed that the crafty French monarch was willing to gratify Henry's vanity by allowing him to enjoy a petty pre-eminence in these pastimes. He ran a tilt against Monsieur Grandeval, whom he disabled at the first encounter. He engaged Monsieur de Montmorency, whom, however, he could not throw from the saddle. He fought at faulchion with a French nobleman, who presented him with his courser in token of submission.

But these empty splendours were not sufficient A. D. to appease the jealousy of the nobles at home, 1521. or quiet the murmurs of the people. Among these, the duke of Buckingham, the son of him who lost his life in the reign of Richard the Third, was the foremost to complain. He had often been heard to treat the cardinal's pride and profusion with just contempt; and carrying his resentment perhaps to an improper length, some low informers took care that Wolsey should be apprised of all. The substance of his impeachment was, that he had consulted a fortune-teller concerning his succession to the crown, and had affected to make himself popular. This was but a weak pretext to take away the life of a nobleman, whose father had died in defence of the late king: but he was brought to a trial; and the duke of Norfolk, whose son had married his

daughter, was created high-steward to preside at this solemn procedure. He was condemned to die as a traitor, by a jury consisting of a duke, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons. When the sentence was pronouncing against him, and the high-steward came to mention the word traitor, the unhappy prisoner could not contain his indignation. "My lords," cried he to the judges, "I am no traitor; and for what you have now done against me, take my sincere forgiveness; as for my life, I think it not worth petitioning for; may God forgive you, and pity me!" He was soon after executed on Tower Hill.

By this time the immense treasures of the late king were quite exhausted on empty pageants, guilty pleasures, or vain treaties and expeditions. But the king relied on Wolsey alone for replenishing his coffers; and no person could be fitter for the purpose. His first care was to get a large sum of money from the people, under the title of a benevolence, which added to its being extorted the mortification of being considered as a free gift. Henry little minded the manner of its being raised, provided he had the enjoyment of it. However, his minister met with some opposition in his attempts

A. D. to levy these extorted contributions. Having, 1523. in the first place, exacted a considerable subsidy from the clergy, he next addressed himself to the house of commons; but they only granted him half the supplies he demanded. Wolsey was at first highly offended at their parsimony, and desired to be heard in the house; but as this would have destroyed the very form and constitution of that august body, they replied, that none could be permitted to sit and argue there but such as had been elected members. This was the first attempt made in this reign to render the king master of

the debates in parliament. Wolsey first paved the way; and, unfortunately for the kingdom, Henry too well improved upon his plans soon after.

A treaty with France, which threatened to make a breach with the emperor, induced Henry to wish for new supplies; or at least he made this the pretext of his demands. But as the parliament had testified their reluctance to indulge his wishes, he followed the advice of Wolsey, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. He issued out commissions to all the counties of England for levying four shillings in the pound upon the clergy, and exacting three shillings and four pence from the laity; nor did he attempt to cover the violence of the measure by giving it the name either of benevolence or loan. This unwarrantable stretch of royal power was quickly opposed by the people; they were unwilling to submit to impositions unknown till now; and a general insurrection threatened to ensue. Henry had the prudence to stop short in that dangerous path into which he had entered; and declared, by circular letters to all the counties, that what was demanded was only by way of benevolence. But the spirit of opposition, once roused, was not so easily quieted; the citizens of London hesitated on the demand; and in some parts of the country insurrections were actually begun, which were suppressed by the duke of Suffolk. These imposts, which were first advised by Wolsey, not happily succeeding, he began to lose a little of his favour with the king; and this displeasure was still more increased by the complaints of the clergy, who accused him of extortion. Henry reprimanded Wolsey in severe terms; which rendered him more cautious and artful for the future. As an instance of his cunning, having built a noble palace, called York-place, at Westminster, for his own use, fearing now the

general censure against him, he made a present of it to the king, assuring him that from the first he intended it as an offer to his majesty. Thus Wolsey's impunity only served to pave the way to greater extortions. The pride of this prelate was great; but his riches were still greater. In order to have a pretext for amassing such sums, he undertook to found two colleges, one at Ipswich, the other at Oxford, for which he received every day fresh grants from the pope and the king. To execute this favourite scheme, he obtained a liberty of suppressing several monasteries, and converting their revenues to the benefit of his new foundations. Whatever might have been the pope's inducement to grant him these privileges, nothing could be more fatal to the pontiff's interests; for Henry was thus himself taught shortly afterwards to imitate what he had seen a subject perform with impunity.

Hitherto the whole administration was carried on by Wolsey; for the king was contented to lose, in the embraces of his mistresses, all the complaints of his subjects; and the cardinal undertook to keep him ignorant, in order to continue his own uncontrolled authority. But now a period was approaching that was to put an end to this minister's exorbitant power. One of the most extraordinary and important revolutions that ever employed the attention of man, was now ripe for execution. This was no less a change than the Reformation; to have an idea of the rise of which, it will be proper to take a cursory view of the state of the church at that time, and to observe by what seemingly contradictory means Providence produces the most happy events.

The church of Rome had now, for more than a thousand years, been corrupting the ancient simplicity of the Gospel, and converting into a temporality the kingdom of another world. The popes had been frequently

seen at the head of their own armies, fighting for their dominions with the arms of flesh, and forgetting, in cruelty, and detestable maxims of state, all the pretended sanctity of their characters. The cardinals, prelates, and dignitaries of the church, lived in envied splendour, and were served like voluptuous princes; and some of them were found to possess eight or nine bishoprics at once. Wherever the church governed, it exerted its power with cruelty; so that to its luxuries the crime of tyranny was usually added. As for the inferior clergy, both popish and protestant writers exclaim against their abandoned and dissolute morals. They publicly kept mistresses, and bequeathed to their illegitimate children whatever they were able to save from their pleasures, or extort from the poor. There is still to be seen a will made by a bishop of Cambray, in which he bequeathed a certain sum for the use of the bastards he already had, and those which, by the blessing of God, he might happen to have. In many parts of England and Germany, the people obliged their priests to have concubines, that the laity might preserve their wives with greater security; while the poor laborious peasant and artisan saw all the fruits of their toil go, not to clothe and maintain their own little families, but to pamper men who insulted them with lectures to which their example appeared a flat contradiction. But the vices of the clergy were not greater than their ignorance; few of them knew the meaning of their Latin mass. Their sagacity was chiefly employed in finding out witches, and exorcising the possessed; but what most increased the hatred of the people against them, was the selling pardons and absolutions for sin, at certain stated prices. A deacon, or subdeacon, who committed murder, was absolved from his crime, and allowed to possess three benefices, upon paying twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might com-

mit murder for about ten pounds of our money. Every crime had its stated value; and absolutions were given for sins not only already committed, but such as should be committed hereafter. The wisest of the people looked with silent detestation on these impositions; and the ignorant themselves, whom fortune seemed to have formed for slavery, began to open their eyes to such glaring absurdities.

These vices and impositions were now almost come to a head; and the increase of arts and learning among the laity, propagated by means of printing, which had been lately invented, began to make them resist that power which was originally founded on deceit. Leo the Tenth was at that time pope, and eagerly employed in building the church of St. Peter at Rome. In order to procure money for carrying on that expensive undertaking, he gave a commission for selling indulgences, a practice which had been often tried before. These were to free the purchaser from the pains of purgatory; and they would serve even for one's friends, if they were purchased with that intention. There were every where shops opened where they were to be sold; but in general they were to be had at taverns, brothels, and gaming-houses. The Augustine friars had usually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this trust had derived both profit and consideration; but the pope's ministers, supposing that they had found out illicit methods of secreting the money, transferred the lucrative employment from them to the Dominicans. Martin Luther, professor in the university of Wittenberg on the Elbe, was an Augustine monk, and one of those who resented this transfer of the sale of indulgences from one order to another. He began to show his indignation by preaching against their efficacy; and being naturally of a fiery temper, and pro-

voked by opposition, he inveighed against the authority of the pope himself. Being driven hard by his adversaries, still, as he enlarged his reading in order to support his tenets, he discovered some new abuse or error in the church of Rome. The people, who had long groaned under the papal tyranny, heard his discourses with pleasure, and defended him against the authority and machinations of his enemies. Frederic, elector of Saxony, surnamed the Wise, openly protected him; the republic of Zurich even reformed their church according to the new model; and Luther, a man naturally inflexible and vehement, was become incapable, either from promises of advancement or terrors of severity, of relinquishing a sect of which he was himself the founder. It was in vain, therefore, that the pope issued out his bulls against Luther; it was in vain that the Dominican friars procured his books to be burned; he boldly abused the Dominicans, and burned the pope's bull in the streets of Wittenberg. In the mean time, the dispute was carried on by writing on each side. Luther, though opposed by the pope, the conclave, and all the clergy, supported his cause singly, and with success. As the controversy was new, his ignorance of many parts of the subject was not greater than theirs; and, ill as he wrote, they answered still worse. Opinions are inculcated upon the minds of mankind, rather by confidence and perseverance, than by strength of reasoning or beauty of diction; and no man had more confidence or more perseverance than he. In this dispute it was the fate of Henry to be a champion on both sides. His father, who had given him the education of [a scholar, permitted him to be instructed in school divinity, which then was the principal object of learned inquiry. Henry, therefore, willing to convince the world of his abilities in that science, obtained the pope's permission

to read the works of Luther, which had been forbidden under pain of excommunication. In consequence of this, the king defended the seven sacraments, out of St. Thomas Aquinas; and showed some dexterity in this science, though it is thought that Wolsey had the chief hand in directing him. A book being thus finished in haste, it was sent to Rome for the pope's approbation, which it is natural to suppose would not be withheld. The pontiff, ravished with its eloquence and depth, compared it to the labours of St. Jerome or St. Augustine, and rewarded the author with the title of Defender of the Faith; little imagining that Henry was soon to be one of the most terrible enemies that ever the church of Rome had to contend with.

Besides these causes, which contributed to render the Romish church odious and contemptible, there were still others proceeding from political measures. Clement the Seventh had succeeded Leo; and the hereditary animosity between the emperor and the pope breaking out into a war, Clement was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and with thirteen cardinals, his adherents, kept in custody for his ransom. As the demands of the emperor were exorbitant, Henry undertook to negotiate for the pope, and was procuring him a very favourable treaty; but his holiness, in the mean time, corrupting his guards, had the good fortune to procure his escape from confinement; and, leaving the treaty unfinished, sent Henry a letter of thanks for his mediation. This violence of the emperor taught Henry that popes might be injured with impunity; and the behaviour of the pope manifested but little of that sanctity or infallibility to which the pontiffs pretended. Besides, as Henry had laid the pope thus under obligations, he supposed that he might, upon any emergency, expect a grateful return.

It was in this situation of the church and the pope, that a new scene was going to be opened, which was to produce endless disturbances, and to change the whole system of Europe. Henry had now been more than twenty years married to Catharine of Arragon, A. D. who, as we have related, had been brought over 1527. from Spain to marry his elder brother, who died a few months after cohabitation. But notwithstanding the submissive deference paid to the indulgence of the church, Henry's marriage with this princess did not pass without scruple and hesitation. The prejudices of the people were in general bent against a conjugal union between such near relations; and the late king, though he had solemnised the espousals when his son was but twelve years of age, gave many intimations that he intended to annul them at a proper opportunity. These intentions might have given Henry some doubts and scruples concerning the legitimacy of his marriage; but as he had three children by the princess, and as her character and conduct were blameless, he for a while kept his suggestions private. But she was six years older than her husband; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed to make him desirous of another consort. However, though he felt a secret dislike to her person, yet for a long time he broke out into no flagrant act of contempt; being contented to range from beauty to beauty among the ladies of his court, and his rank always procuring him a ready compliance. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive much more powerful than the tacit suggestions of his conscience. It happened that among the maids of honour, then attending the queen, there was one Anne Boleyn, the daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, a gentleman of distinction, and related to many

of the nobility. He had been employed by the king in several embassies, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Norfolk. The beauty of Anne surpassed whatever had hitherto appeared at this voluptuous court; and her education, which had been at Paris, tended to set off her personal charms. Her features were regular, mild, and attractive; her stature elegant, though below the middle size; while her wit and vivacity exceeded even her other allurements. Henry, who had never learned the art of restraining any passion that he desired to gratify, saw and loved her; but, after several efforts to induce her to comply with his criminal desires, he found that without marriage he could have no chance of succeeding. This obstacle, therefore, he hardly undertook to remove; and as his own queen was now become hateful to him,—in order to procure a divorce, he alleged that his conscience rebuked him for having so long lived in incest with the wife of his brother. In this pretended perplexity he applied to Clement the Seventh, who owed him many obligations, desiring him to dissolve the bull of the former pope, which had given him permission to marry Catharine; and to declare that it was not in the power even of the holy see to dispense with a law so strictly enjoined in Scripture. The unfortunate pope was now in the utmost perplexity; queen Catharine was aunt to the emperor who had lately made him a prisoner, and whose resentment he dreaded to rekindle by thus injuring so near a relation; besides, he could not in prudence declare the bull of the former pope illicit; for this would be giving a blow to the doctrine of papal infallibility. On the other hand, Henry was his protector and friend; the dominions of England were the chief resource from which his finances were supplied; and the king of France, some time before, had obtained a bull of divorce

in somewhat similar circumstances. In this exigency, he thought the wisest method would be to spin out the affair by a negotiation ; and in the mean time sent over a commission to Wolsey, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage and the former dispensation ; granting them also a provisional dispensation for the king's marriage with any other person. When this message was laid before the council in England they prudently considered that an advice given by the pope in this secret manner might very easily be disavowed in public, and that a clandestine marriage would totally invalidate the legitimacy of any issue the king should have by such a match. In consequence of this, fresh messengers were dispatched to Rome, and evasive answers returned, the pope still continuing to promise, recant, dispute, and temporise ; hoping that the king's passion would never hold out during the tedious course of an ecclesiastical controversy. In this he was entirely mistaken. Henry had been long taught to dispute as well as he, and quickly found, or wrested, many texts of Scripture to favour his opinions or his passions. To his arguments he added threats, assuring the pope, that the English were already but too well disposed to withdraw from the holy see ; and that, if he continued uncomplying, the whole country would readily follow the example of a monarch who, stung by ingratitude, should deny all obedience to a pontiff by whom he had always been treated with falsehood and duplicity. The king even proposed to his holiness, whether, in case of his not being permitted to put away his present queen, he might not have a dispensation for having two wives at a time.

The pope, perceiving the eagerness of the king, at one time had thoughts of complying with his sollicita-

peared less reserved in his resentments against that prelate. The attorney-general was ordered to prepare a bill of indictment against him ; and he was soon after commanded to resign the great seal. Crimes are easily found against a favourite in disgrace ; and the courtiers did not fail to increase the catalogue of his errors. He was ordered to depart from his palace at Westminster ; and all his furniture and plate were converted to the king's use. The inventory of his goods being taken, they were found to exceed even the most extravagant surmises. Of fine Holland alone there were found a thousand pieces ; the walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold and silver ; he had a cupboard of plate of massy gold ; all the rest of his riches and furniture were in proportion, and probably their greatness invited the hand of power. The parliament soon after confirmed the sentence of the court of Star-Chamber against him ; and he was ordered to retire to Esher, a country-seat which he possessed near Hampton ; there to await the king's farther pleasure, with all the fluctuations of hope and apprehension. Still, however, he was in possession of the archbishopric of York and bishopric of Winchester ; and the king gave him distant gleams of hope, by sending him a ring, accompanied with a gracious message. Wolsey, who, like every bad character, was proud to his equals, and mean to those above him, happening to meet the king's messenger on horseback, immediately alighted, and, throwing himself on his knees in the mire, received, in that abject manner, those marks of his majesty's condescension. But his hopes were soon overturned ; for, after he had remained some time at Esher, he was ordered A.D. to remove to his see of York, where he took up 1530. his residence at Cawood, and rendered himself

very popular in the neighbourhood by his affability. He was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. He was arrested by the earl of Northumberland, at the king's command, for high treason; and preparations were made for conducting him to London, in order to his trial. He at first refused to comply with the requisition, as being a cardinal; but finding the earl bent on performing his commission, he complied, and set out, by easy journeys, for London, to appear as a criminal where he had acted as a king. In his way he stayed a fortnight at the mansion of the earl of Shrewsbury; where one day at dinner he was taken ill, not without violent suspicions of having poisoned himself. Being thence brought forward, he with much difficulty reached Leicester abbey; where the monks coming out to meet him, he said, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and immediately ordered his bed to be prepared. As his disorder increased, an officer being placed near, at once to guard and attend him, he spoke to him, a little before he expired, to this effect: "I pray you have me heartily recommended unto his royal majesty; he is a prince of a most royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. I do assure you I have kneeled before him, for three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but could not prevail. Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my indulgent pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only to my prince." He died soon after, in all the pangs of remorse, and left a life which he had all along rendered turbid by ambition,

and wretched by mean assiduities. He left two natural children; one of whom, being a priest, was loaded with church preferments.

Henry being now freed from the control of a person who had for some time been an obstacle to his intentions, by Cranmer's advice he had the legality of his present marriage canvassed in the most noted universities of Europe. It was very extraordinary to see the king on one side soliciting the universities to be favourable to his passion; and, on the other, the emperor pressing them with equal ardour to be favourable to his aunt. Henry liberally rewarded those doctors who declared on his side; and the emperor granted benefices to such as voted in conformity to his wishes. Time has discovered these intrigues. In one of Henry's account-books we find the disbursements he made on these occasions. To a sub-deacon he gave a crown, to a deacon two crowns; and he also gratified the rest, in proportion to the consequence of their station or opinion. The person, however, who bribed on these occasions, excused himself by declaring that he never paid the money till after the vote was given. In this contest, the liberalities, and consequently the votes, of Henry prevailed; his intrigues for a favourable decision being better carried on, as he was most interested in the debate. All the colleges of Italy and France unanimously declared his present marriage to be repugnant to all laws divine and human; and therefore alleged, that it was not in the power of the pope himself to grant a dispensation. The only places where this decision was most warmly opposed, were Oxford and Cambridge: but they also concurred in the same opinion at last, having furnished out the formality of a debate. But the agents of Henry were not content.

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with the suffrages of the universities alone ; the opinions of the Jewish rabbies were also demanded ; and their votes were easily bought up.

Henry, being thus fortified by the suffrages A. D. of the universities, now resolved to oppose even 1531. the pope himself ; and began in parliament by reviving an old law against the clergy, by which it was decreed, that all those who had submitted to the legatine authority had incurred severe penalties. The clergy, to conciliate the king's favour, were compelled to pay a fine of a hundred and eighteen thousand pounds. A confession was likewise extorted from them, that the king was protector and supreme head of the church and the clergy of England. These concessions cut off a great part of the profits, and still more of the power, of the church of Rome. An act soon after was A. D. passed against levying the first-fruits, or a year's 1532. rent, of all the bishoprics that became vacant. The tie that held Henry to the church being thus broken, he resolved to keep no farther measures with the pontiff. He therefore privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke ; the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and doctor Cranmer, being present at the ceremony. Soon after finding the queen pregnant, he publicly owned his marriage ; and, to colour his disobedience to the pope with an appearance of triumph, he passed with his beautiful bride through London, with a magnificence greater than had been ever known before. The streets were strewed, the walls of the houses were hung with tapestry, the conduits ran with wine, and an universal joy was diffused among the people, who were contented rather with the present festivity than solicitous to examine the motives of it. Catharine, who had all along supported her claims with resolution, and yet

with modesty, was cited to a trial; but, refusing to appear, she was pronounced contumacious; and judgement was given against the validity of her marriage with the king. At length, finding the inutility of farther resistance, she retired to Ampthill, near Dunstable, where she passed the rest of her life in privacy and peace.

When this intelligence was conveyed to Rome, the conclave was in a rage; and the pope, incited by the ardour of the cardinals, and frightened also by the menaces of the emperor, published a sentence, declaring queen Catharine alone to be Henry's lawful wife; and requiring him to take her again, with a denunciation of censures in case of refusal. On the other hand, Henry, finding that his subjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and had willingly complied with his attempts to break off a foreign dependence, resolved no longer to continue those submissions which no power could extort. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation: care had been taken for some years to inculcate the doctrine, that the pope was entitled to no authority beyond the limits of his own diocese. The king, therefore, no longer delayed his meditated scheme of separating entirely from the church of Rome. The parliament was at his devotion; the majority of the clergy were in his interest, as they had already declared against the pope, by decreeing in favour of the divorce; and the people, above all, wished to see the church humbled, which had so long controlled them at pleasure, and grown opulent by their labours and distresses. Thus all things conspiring to co-operate with his designs, he ordered himself to be declared by his A.D. clergy the supreme head of the church; the 1534. parliament confirmed the title, abolished all authority of the pope in England, voted all tributes for-

merly paid to the holy see as illegal, and intrusted the king with the collation to all ecclesiastical benefices. The nation came into the king's measures with joy, and took an oath, called the oath of supremacy; all the credit of the pope, that had subsisted for ages, was now at once overthrown; and none seemed to repine at the revolution, except those who were immediately interested by their dependence on the court of Rome.

But though Henry had thus separated from the church, he had not addicted himself to the system of any other reformer. The idea of heresy still appeared detestable as well as formidable to him; and whilst his resentment against the see of Rome had removed one part of his early prejudices, he made it a point never to relinquish the rest. Separate as he stood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he still valued himself on maintaining the catholic doctrines, and on guarding by fire and sword the imagined purity of its establishments. His ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct, and seemed to waver, during the whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The young queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favoured the cause of the reformers; Thomas Cromwell, who, from being a creature of Wolsey, had, by an admirable defence of the conduct of his old master, procured the favour and confidence of the king, embraced the same views. Being a man of prudence and ability, he was very successful in promoting the Reformation, though in a concealed manner. Cranmer, who was now become archbishop of Canterbury, had all along adopted the protestant tenets, and had gained Henry's friendship by his candour and sincerity. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the old mode of worship; and by

the greatness of his rank, as well as by his talents for peace and war, he had great weight in the king's council. Gardiner, lately created bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party; and the suppleness of his character, and the dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely useful to it. The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between these contending factions, was enabled, by the courtship paid him by both protestants and catholics, to assume an immeasurable authority.

As the mode of religion was not yet known, and as the minds of those who were of opposite sentiments were extremely exasperated, it naturally followed that several must fall a sacrifice in the contest between ancient establishments and modern reformation. The reformers were the first who were exhibited as unhappy examples of the vindictive fury of those who were for the continuance of ancient superstitions. One James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, being accused of favouring the doctrines of Luther, had been brought before sir Thomas More during his chancellorship; and, after being put to the torture, was condemned as a relapsed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield. Thomas Bilney, a priest, had embraced the new doctrines; but, being terrified into an abjuration, he was so stung with remorse, that he went into Norfolk, publicly recanting his former conduct, and exposing the errors of popery. He was soon seized, tried in the bishop's court, condemned as a relapsed heretic, and burned accordingly. On the other hand, Henry was not remiss in punishing such as disowned the propriety of his late defection from Rome; and, as the monks suffered most by the Reformation, so they were most obnoxious, from their free manner of speaking, to the royal resentment.

To assist him in bringing these to punishment, the parliament had made it capital to deny his supremacy over the church; and many priors and ecclesiastics lost their lives for this new species of crime. But of those who fell a sacrifice to this stern and unjust law, none are so much to be regretted as John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and the celebrated sir Thomas More. Fisher was a prelate eminent for his learning and morals; but so firmly attached to ancient opinions, that he was thrown into prison, and deprived of his ecclesiastical revenues; so that he had scarcely even rags to cover him in his severe confinement. He was soon after indicted for denying the king's supremacy, A.D. 1535. condemned, and beheaded.

Sir Thomas More is entitled to still greater pity, as his merits were greater. This extraordinary man, who was one of the revivers of ancient literature, and incontestably the foremost writer of his age, had, for some time, refused to act in subserviency to the capricious passions of the king. He had been created chancellor; but gave up that high office rather than concur in the breach with the church of Rome. The austerity of this man's virtue, and the sanctity of his manners, had in no wise encroached on the gentleness of his temper; and even in the midst of poverty and disgrace, he could preserve that natural gaiety which was probably inspired by conscious innocence. But on the present occasion, being put into confinement, no entreaties or arguments could prevail upon him to pronounce an entire acknowledgment of the justice of the king's claims. One Rich, who was then solicitor-general, was sent to confer with him; and in his presence he was inveigled to say, that any question with regard to the law which established that prerogative, was like a two-edged sword: if a person answered one way, it would

confound his soul ; if another, it would destroy his body. These words were sufficient for the base informer to hang an accusation upon ; and, as trials at that time were mere formalities, the jury gave sentence against More, who had long expected his fate. His natural cheerfulness attended him to the last : when he was mounting to the scaffold, he said to one, " Friend, help me up ; and when I go down again, let me shift for myself." The executioner asking his forgiveness, he granted the request, but told him, " You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he had put aside his beard ; " for," said he, " that has never committed treason."

The concurrence which the people seemed to lend to these severities, added to the great authority which Henry, from his severe administration, possessed, induced him to proceed still farther in his scheme of innovation. As the monks had all along shown him the greatest resistance, he resolved at once to deprive them of future power to injure him. He accordingly empowered Cromwell, secretary of state, to send commissioners into the several counties of England to inspect the monasteries, and to report, with rigorous exactness, the conduct and deportment of such as were resident there. This employment was readily undertaken by some creatures of the court, namely, Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, and Belasis, who are said to have discovered monstrous disorders in many of the religious houses ;—whole convents of women abandoned to all manner of lewdness ; friars accomplices in their crimes ; pious frauds every where practised to increase the devotion and liberality of the people ; and cruel and inveterate factions maintained between the members of many of these institutions. These accusations, whether

true or false, were urged with great clamour against these communities; and a general horror was excited in the nation against them.

The king now thought he might with safety, and even some degree of popularity, abolish these institutions; but, willing to proceed gently at first, he gave directions to the parliament to go no farther at present than to suppress the smaller monasteries, which possessed revenues below the value of two hundred A.D. pounds a year. By this act three hundred and fifty-seven monasteries were suppressed; and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king, besides their goods and plate, computed at a hundred thousand pounds more. But this was only the beginning of his confiscations; for, about two years after, he resolved upon the entire destruction of all monasteries whatsoever. A new visitation was therefore appointed, and fresh crimes were also produced; so that his severities were conducted with such seeming justice and success, that in less than two years he became possessed of the revenues of all the monastic foundations. These, on the whole, amounted to six hundred and forty-five, of which twenty-eight had abbots who enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety collegiate institutions, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and a hundred and ten hospitals, were likewise suppressed. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds—less than a twentieth part of the national income. The loss which was sustained by the clergy upon this occasion, was by no means so great or mortifying as the cruel insults and reproaches to which they were exposed for their former frauds and avarice. The numberless relics which they had amassed to delude and

draw money from the people, were now brought forward, and exposed before the populace with the most poignant contempt:—an angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the spear which pierced the side of Christ; coals that had roasted St. Lawrence; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; certain relics to prevent rain; others to stop the generation of weeds among corn. There was a crucifix at Boxley in Kent, distinguished by the appellation of the Rood of Grace, which had been long in reputation for bending, raising, rolling the eyes, and shaking the head. It was brought to London, and broken to pieces at Paul's cross; and the wheels and springs by which it was actuated were shown to the people. At Hales, in Gloucestershire, the monks had carried on a profitable traffic with the pretended blood of Christ in a crystal phial. This relic was no other than the blood of a duck killed weekly, and exhibited to the pilgrim: if his prayers were accepted, the blood was shown him; if supposed to be rejected, the phial was turned; and, being on one side opaque, the blood was no longer to be seen. But the spoils of St. Thomas à Becket's shrine, at Canterbury, exceeded what even imagination might conceive. The shrine was broken down; and the gold that adorned it filled two large chests, which eight strong men could hardly carry out of the church. The king even cited the saint himself to appear, and to be tried and condemned as a traitor. He ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar, his bones to be burned, and the office for his festival to be struck out of the breviary.

Such were the violent measures with which the king proceeded against these seats of indolence and imposture; but as great murmurs were excited upon this occasion, he took care that all those who could be useful

to him, or even dangerous in cases of opposition, should be sharers in the spoil. He either made a gift of the revenues of the convents to his principal courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, of which the last five still continue. He also settled salaries on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or their merits; and each monk was allowed a yearly pension of eight marks for his subsistence.

But though the king had entirely separated himself from Rome, he was unwilling to follow any guide in constructing a new system. He would not therefore wholly abolish those practices by which priestcraft had been carried to such a pitch of absurdity. The invocation of saints was not yet abolished by him, but only restrained. He procured an act, or more properly speaking, gave orders, to have the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue; but it was not permitted to be put into the hands of the laity. It was a capital crime to believe in the pope's supremacy; and yet equally heinous to be of the reformed religion, as established in Germany. His opinions were at length delivered in a law, which, from its horrid consequences, was afterwards termed the Bloody Statute, by which it was ordained, that, whoever, by word or writing, should deny transubstantiation, whoever should persist in affirming that the communion in both kinds was necessary, that it was lawful for priests to marry, that vows of chastity might be broken, that private masses were unprofitable, or that auricular confession was unnecessary, should be found guilty of heresy, and burned or hanged as the court should determine. As the people were at that time chiefly composed of those who followed the opi-

nions of Luther, and such as still adhered to the pope, this statute, with Henry's former decrees, in some measure included both, and opened a field for persecution, which soon after produced its dreadful harvests.

These severities, however, were preceded by one of a different nature, arising neither from religious nor political causes, but merely from tyrannical caprice. Anne Boleyn, his queen, had been always a favourer of the Reformation, and consequently had many enemies on that account, who only waited a convenient occasion to destroy her credit with the king; and that occasion too soon presented itself. The king's passion was by this time palled by satiety. As the only desire he ever had for her arose from that brutal appetite which enjoyment soon destroys, he had now fallen in love, if we may so prostitute the expression, with another, and languished for the possession of Jane Seymour, who had for some time been maid of honour to the queen.

As soon as the queen's enemies perceived the king's disgust, they resolved on taking the first opportunity of gratifying his inclination to get rid of her, by producing crimes against her, which his passions would quickly make real. The viscountess Rochford in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, herself a woman of infamous character, began with the most cruel insinuations against the reputation of her sister-in-law. She pretended that her own husband was engaged in an incestuous correspondence with his sister; and, not contented with this insinuation, represented all the harmless levities of the queen as favours of a criminal nature. The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief, as was supposed, to one of her minions to wipe his face, after having overheated himself in the exercise. Though this might have been very

harmless, the king abruptly retired from the place, and sent orders to have her confined to her apartment. Anne smiled at first, thinking the king was in jest ; but when she found it was a very serious affair, she received the sacrament in her closet, sensible of what little mercy she had to expect from so furious a tyrant.

In the mean time her enemies were not remiss in inflaming the accusation against her. The duke of Norfolk, from his attachment to the old religion, took care to produce several witnesses, accusing her of incontinence with some of the meaner servants of the court. Four persons were particularly pointed out as her paramours ; Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with Mark Smeton, a musician. As these had served her with much assiduity, their respect might have been construed by suspicion into more tender attachments. The next day the queen was sent to the Tower, earnestly protesting her innocence, and sending up prayers to heaven for assistance in this extremity. She in vain begged to be admitted into the presence of the king ; the lady Boleyn, her uncle's wife, who had always hated her, was ordered to continue in the same chamber, and she made a report of all the incoherent ravings of the afflicted prisoner. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow. She had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection to a kinswoman of her's, and his indifference towards his wife ; but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself. She affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord ; but she acknowledged that he once had the boldness to tell her, that a look sufficed him.

Every person at court now abandoned the unhappy queen in her distress, except Cranmer, who, though forbidden to come into the king's presence, wrote a letter to him in behalf of the queen; but his intercession had no effect. When Norris and the other prisoners were tried in Westminster-hall, Smeton was prevailed upon, by the promise of a pardon, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but he was not confronted with her; and his execution with the rest, shortly after, served to acquit her of the charge. Norris, who had been much in the king's favour, had an offer of his life, if he would confess his crime and accuse his mistress; but he rejected the proposal with contempt, and died professing her innocence and his own.

In the mean time the queen, who saw the terrible appearance of her fortunes, attempted to soften the king by every endeavour to spare the lives of the unfortunate men whose deaths were decreed. But his was a stern jealousy fostered by pride; and nothing but her removal could appease him. Her letter to him, upon this occasion, written from the Tower, is full of the tenderest expostulations, and too remarkable to be omitted here; as its manner serves at once to mark the situation of her mind, and shows to what a pitch of refinement she had even then carried the language. It is as follows:

“ Sir,

“ Your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth and so obtain your favour) by such an one, whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may

procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

“ But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace’s pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace’s fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king: but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame: then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared: so that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlaw-

ful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am ; whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

“ But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof ; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment, I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me), mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared.

“ My last and only request shall be, that myself shall only bear the burthen of your grace’s displeasure ; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request ; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May.

Your most loyal

and ever faithful wife,

ANNE BOLEYN.”

It was not to be expected that eloquence could prevail on a tyrant, whose passions were to be influenced by none of the nobler motives. The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers ; but upon what

proof or pretence the crime of incest was urged against them, is unknown; the chief evidence, it is said, amounted to no more than that Rochford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had declared to her attendants, that the king never had her heart; which was considered as a slander upon the throne, and strained into a breach of a late statute, by which it was declared criminal to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. The unhappy queen, though unassisted by counsel, defended herself with great judgement and presence of mind; and the spectators could not forbear declaring her entirely innocent. She answered distinctly to all the charges brought against her: but the king's authority was not to be controlled; she was declared guilty, and her sentence ran, that she should be burned or beheaded, at the king's pleasure. When this terrible sentence was pronounced against her, she could not help offering up a prayer to Heaven, vindicating her innocence; and, in a most pathetic speech to her judges, averred the injustice of her condemnation. But the tyrant, not satisfied with this vengeance, was desirous also of having her daughter declared illegitimate; and, remembering the report of a contract between her and Percy earl of Northumberland, prevailed upon the queen, either by promise of life, or not executing the sentence in all its rigour, to confess such a contract. The afflicted primate, who sat as judge, thought himself obliged, by this confession, to pronounce the marriage null; and Henry, in the transports of his malignant prosecution, did not see that if her marriage had been invalid from the beginning, the sentence of adultery must have been invalid also.

She who had been once the envied object of royal favour, was now going to give a melancholy instance of

the capriciousness of fortune: upon her returning to prison, she once more sent protestations of her innocence to the king. "You have raised me," said she, "from privacy to make me a lady; from a lady you made me a countess; from a countess a queen; and from a queen I shall shortly become a saint in heaven." On the morning of her execution she sent for Kingston, the keeper of the Tower, to whom, upon entering the prison, she said, "Mr. Kingston, I hear I am not to die till noon, and I am sorry for it; for I thought to be dead before this time, and free from a life of pain." The keeper attempting to comfort her, by assuring her the pain would be very little; she replied, "I have heard the executioner is very expert; and (clasping her neck with her hands, laughing), I have but a little neck." When brought to the scaffold, from a consideration of her child Elizabeth's welfare, she would not inflame the minds of the spectators against her prosecutors, but contented herself with saying "that she was come to die as she was sentenced by the law." She would accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which she was judged; she prayed heartily for the king, called him "a most merciful and gentle prince;" declared that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and, if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was brought over as much more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower. Anne Boleyn seemed to be guilty of no other crime than that of having survived the king's affections; and although many crowned heads had already been put to death in England, she was the first who underwent all the forms of law, and was beheaded on a scaffold.

The people, in general, beheld her fate with pity; but still more, when they discovered the cause of the tyrant's impatience to destroy her; for, the very next day after her execution, he married the lady Jane Seymour, his cruel heart being no way softened by the wretched fate of one who had been so lately the object of his warmest affections. He also ordered his parliament to give him a divorce between her sentence and execution; and thus he endeavoured to bastardise Elizabeth, the only child he had by her, as he had in the same manner formerly bastardised Mary, his only surviving child by queen Catharine.

It is easy to imagine that such various innovations and capricious cruelties were not felt by the people without indignation; but their murmurs were fruitless, and their complaints disregarded. Henry now made himself umpire between those of the ancient superstition and the modern reformation; both looked up to him for assistance, and, at mutual enmity with each other, he took the advantage of all. Beside, he had all the powerful men of the nation on his side, by the many grants he had made them of the lands and goods of which he had despoiled the monasteries. It was easy for him, therefore, to quell the various insurrections which his present arbitrary conduct produced, as they were neither headed by any powerful man, nor conducted with any kind of foresight, but were merely the tumultuary efforts of anguish and despair. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, headed by doctor Mackrel, prior of Barling; and though this tumultuary army amounted to twenty thousand men, upon a proclamation being made with assurances of pardon, the populace dispersed; and the prior and some of his chief confederates, falling into the king's hands, were put to death. Another rising followed soon after in the north,

amounting to thirty thousand men, who were preceded by priests carrying the ensigns of their functions before the army, and seemed chiefly inspired with an enmity against Cromwell, whom they considered as the instigator of the king's severities. But these also were soon dispersed, upon finding that provisions became scarce among them; after having in vain endeavoured to attack the duke of Norfolk's army, which was sent against them, and from which they were separated by a rivulet that was swollen by heavy rains. A new insurrection broke out shortly after, headed by Musgrave and Tilby; but the insurgents were dispersed and put to flight by the duke of Norfolk. Besides one Aske, who led the former insurrection in the north, lord d'Arcy, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, sir Thomas Percy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley, were thrown into prison; and most of these suffered death. Henry, enraged by multiplied revolts, resolved to put no bounds to his severities; and the birth of a prince (afterwards Edward the Sixth) and the death of the queen, who survived this joyful occasion but two days, made but a small pause in the fierce severity with which those were treated who were found to oppose his will.

A. D. In the midst of these commotions, the fires of 1537. Smithfield were seen to blaze with unusual fierceness. Those who adhered to the pope, or those who followed the doctrines of Luther, were equally the objects of royal vengeance and ecclesiastical persecution. From the multiplied alterations in the national systems of belief, mostly drawn up by Henry himself, few knew what to think, or what to profess. They were ready enough, indeed, to follow his doctrines, how inconsistent or contradictory soever; but as he was continually changing them himself, they could hardly pursue so

fast as he advanced before them. Thomas Cromwell, raised by the king's caprice from being a blacksmith's son to be a royal favourite (for tyrants ever raise their favourites from the lowest of the people), and Cranmer, now become archbishop of Canterbury, were both seen to favour the Reformation with all their endeavours. On the other hand, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the duke of Norfolk, were for leading the king back to his original superstition. In fact, Henry submitted to neither; his pride had long been so inflamed by flattery, that he thought himself entitled to regulate, by his single opinion, the religious faith of the whole nation.

In this universal terror and degeneracy of A. D. mankind, during which the severities of one man 1538. alone seemed to be sufficient to keep millions in awe, there was a school-master in London, who boldly stood up for the rights of humanity, and ventured to think for himself. This man's name was John Lambert, who, hearing doctor Taylor preach in support of the real presence in the sacrament, presented him with his reasons for contradicting that doctrine. The paper was carried to Cranmer and Latimer, who were then of the opinion of Luther on that head, and endeavoured to bring him over to their opinions. But Lambert remained steady in his belief; and they were mortified when, instead of recanting, he appealed to the king himself. This was a challenge that pleased Henry's vanity; and, willing at once to exert his supremacy, and display his learning, he accepted the appeal; and public notice was given of his intended disputation. For this purpose, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience; and Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty. The prelates were placed on his right hand; the temporal peers on his left. The judges and

most eminent lawyers had a place assigned to them behind the bishops; the courtiers of the greatest distinction sat behind the Peers. Poor Lambert was produced in the midst of this splendid assembly, with not one creature to defend or support him. The bishop of Chichester opened the conference by declaring, that the king, notwithstanding any slight alterations he had made in the rites of the church, was yet determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish, with the utmost severity, all departure from it. After this preamble, sufficient to terrify the boldest disputant, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of transubstantiation? When Lambert began his oration with a compliment to his majesty, Henry rejected his praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards entered upon the discussion of that abstruse question, and endeavoured to press Lambert with some arguments drawn from the Scriptures and the schoolmen. At every word the audience were ready to second him with their applause and admiration. Lambert, however, no way discouraged, was not slow to reply; but here Cranmer stepped in, and seconded the king's proofs by some new topics. Gardiner entered the lists in support of Cranmer; Tonsal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokesly brought fresh aid to Tonsal. Six bishops more appeared successively in the field against the poor solitary disputant, who for five hours attempted to vindicate his doctrines, till, at last, fatigued, confounded, brow-beaten, and abashed, he was reduced to silence. The king, then returning to the charge, demanded if he was convinced; and whether he chose to gain life by recantation, or to die for his obstinacy? Lambert, not intimidated, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency; to which Henry replied, that he would never protect a heretic;

and therefore, if that was his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Lambert, not yet terrified, heard Cromwell read the sentence, by which he was condemned to be burned alive, with the utmost composure; and, as if his persecutors were resolved to try his fortitude, the executioners were ordered to make his punishment as painful as they could. He was, therefore, burned at a slow fire, his legs and thighs being first consumed; and when there appeared no end of his tortures, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts; and while he yet continued to cry out, "None but Christ! None but Christ!" he was wholly consumed by the surrounding fire.

This poor man's death seemed to be only a signal for that of many more. Adulation had inspired the king with such an opinion of his own ability, that he now resolved to punish rigorously all who should presume to differ from him in opinion, without making distinction between Catholics and Lutherans. Soon after, A. D. no less than five hundred persons were imprisoned for contradicting the opinions delivered in the Bloody Statute, and received protection only from the lenity of Cromwell. Doctor Barnes, who had been instrumental in Lambert's execution, felt, in his turn, the severity of the persecuting spirit; and, by a bill in parliament, without any trial, was condemned to the flames, discussing theological questions at the very stake. With Barnes were executed one Gerard and Jerome, for the same opinions. Three Catholics also, whose A. D. names were Abel, Fetherstone, and Powel, were 1540. dragged upon the same hurdles to execution; and declared, that the most grievous part of their punishment was, the being coupled with such heretical miscreants as were united in the same calamity.

During these horrid transactions Henry was resolved to take another queen ; and, after some negotiation upon the continent, he contracted a marriage with Anne of Cleves, his aim being by her means to fortify his alliances with the princes of Germany. Nor was he led into this match without a most scrupulous examination, on his side, of the lady's personal accomplishments. He was assured by his envoy that she was of a very large person ; which was the more pleasing to him, as he was at that time become very corpulent, and consequently required a similar figure in a wife. He was still farther allured by her picture, in which Holbein, who drew it, was, it seems, more a friend to his art than to truth ; for he greatly flattered her. The king, upon her landing, went privately to meet her at Rochester, where he was very much damped in his amorous ardour. He found her big indeed, and tall as he could wish, but utterly devoid of grace and beauty : she could also speak but one language, her native German ; so that her conversation could never recompense the defects of her person. He swore she was a great Flanders mare ; and added, that he could never settle his affections upon her. However, sensible that he would greatly disoblige her brother the duke, and consequently all the German princes in his alliance, he resolved to marry her ; and he told Cromwell, who was chiefly instrumental in this affair, that, since he had gone so far, he would put his neck into the yoke, whatever it cost him. The marriage was accordingly celebrated, but the king's disgust was only increased by it ; he told Cromwell the next morning that he hated her more than ever ; and even suspected her not to be a true maid, a circumstance in which he thought himself extremely skilful. Cromwell saw the danger he incurred by having been instrumental in forming this union ; but he endeavoured, by

his assiduity and humble adulation, to keep the king from coming to extremities with him.

But he should have known that a tyrant once offended is implacable. Henry's aversion to the queen secretly increased every day ; and he at length resolved to get rid of her and his prime minister together. The fall of this favourite was long and ardently wished for by a great part of the nation. The nobility hated a man who, from such mean beginnings, was placed before the first persons in the kingdom ; for, besides being made vicar-general, which gave him almost absolute authority over the clergy, he was lord privy-seal, lord chamberlain, and master of the rolls. He had also obtained the order of the Garter, a dignity which had hitherto been conferred on only the most illustrious families ; and to carry his exaltation still higher, he had been made earl of Essex. The protestants disliked him for his concurrence with the king's will in their persecution ; and the papists detested him as the inveterate enemy of their religion. It only remained, therefore, with the king to hasten or retard the punishment of a man who had scarcely a partisan in the nation except himself. But he had a strong cause of dislike to him for his late unpropitious alliance ; and a new motive was soon added for increasing his displeasure. He had fixed his affection on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk ; and the only method of gratifying this new passion was, as in former cases, discarding the present queen to make room for a new one. The duke of Norfolk had long been Cromwell's mortal enemy, and eagerly embraced this opportunity to destroy a man whom he considered as his rival. He therefore made use of all his niece's arts to ruin the favourite ; and when his project was ripe for execution, he obtained a commission from the king to arrest Cromwell for high-treason. His disgrace

was no sooner known than all his friends forsook him, except Cranmer, who wrote such a letter to Henry in his behalf as no other man in the kingdom would have presumed to offer. However, he was accused in parliament of heresy and treason, and, without being heard in his own defence, was condemned to suffer the pains of death, as the king should think proper to direct. Cromwell's fortitude seemed to forsake him in this dreadful exigency. He wrote to the king for pardon; said that the frail flesh incited him continually to apply to his grace for mercy; and subscribed his epistle with a heavy heart and a trembling hand, "from the king's most miserable prisoner and poor slave at the Tower, Thomas Cromwell. Mercy, mercy, mercy!"

Cromwell's letter touched the hard heart of the monarch; he ordered it to be read to him three times; and then, as if willing to gain a victory over all his softer feelings, he signed the warrant for beheading him upon Tower-hill. When Cromwell was brought to the scaffold, his regard for his son hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence; he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his transgressions; confessed he had often been seduced, but that he now died in the catholic faith. It was thus that Henry, not satisfied with the death of those whom he chose to punish, repressed their complaints also, and terrified the unhappy sufferers from the last consolation of the wretched, the satisfaction of upbraiding their persecutors. In this manner the unhappy sufferer, having spent some time in his private devotions, submitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a most terrible manner. A few days after his death a number of people were executed together upon very different accusations; some for having denied the king's supremacy, and others for having maintained the doctrines of Luther.

About a month after the death of Cromwell, the king declared his marriage with Catharine Howard, whom he had some time before privately espoused. This was regarded as a very favourable incident by the catholic party; and the subsequent events for a while turned out to their wish. The king's counsels being now entirely directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the protestants, and the law of the six articles was executed with rigour; so that a foreigner, who then resided in England, had reason to say, that those who were against the pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king, with an ostentatious impartiality, reduced both parties to an equal share of subordination, and infused terror into every breast.

But the measure of his severities was not yet filled up. He had thought himself very happy in his new marriage. He was so captivated with the queen's accomplishments, that he gave public thanks for his felicity, and desired his confessor to join with him in the same thanksgiving. This joy, however, was of very short duration. While the king was at York, upon an A. D. intended conference with the king of Scotland, a 1541. man of the name of Lascelles had waited upon Cranmer at London; and from the information of this man's sister, who had been servant to the duchess dowager of Norfolk, he gave a very surprising account of the queen's incontinence. He averred that she led a very lewd life before her marriage, and had carried on a scandalous correspondence with two men, called Derham and Mannock; and that she continued to indulge herself in the same criminal pleasures since she had been raised to her present greatness. Cranmer was equally surprised and embarrassed at this intelligence, which he communicated to the chancellor, and some other mem-

bers of the privy-council, who advised him to make the king acquainted with the whole affair on his return to London. The archbishop knew the hazard he ran by intermeddling in such delicate points; but he also knew the danger he incurred by suppressing his information. He therefore resolved to communicate what he had heard, by writing, in the form of a memorial; and this he shortly after delivered into the king's own hand, desiring his majesty to read it in private. Henry at first disbelieved, or pretended to disbelieve, the report; he ordered the keeper of the privy-seal to examine Lascelles, who persisted in his former narrative, and even produced his sister to confirm his account. Upon this Derham and Mannock were arrested; and they quickly confessed their own guilt, and the queen's incontinence. They went still farther, by impeaching lady Rochford, who had formerly been so instrumental in procuring the death of Anne Boleyn. They alleged that this lady had introduced one Culpepper into the queen's bedchamber, who staid with her from eleven at night till four in the morning. When the queen was first examined, she denied the charge; but afterwards, finding that her accomplices were her accusers, she confessed her incontinence before marriage, but denied her having dishonoured the king's bed since their union. But three maids of honour, who were admitted to her secrets, still farther alleged her guilt; and some of them confessed having passed the night in the same bed with her and her lovers. The king was so affected at this discovery, that he burst into a flood of tears, and bitterly lamented his misfortune. Derham and Culpepper were convicted and executed; but he was resolved to throw the odium of the queen's death upon the parliament, who had always shown themselves the ready ministers of all his severities. These servile creatures, upon being informed of the queen's

crime and confession, found her quickly guilty, A. D. and petitioned the king that she might be punished with death; that the same penalty might be inflicted on the lady Rochford, the accomplice of her debaucheries; and that her grandmother, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, together with her uncle and his wife, also the countess of Bridgewater, and nine others, as having been privy to the queen's irregularities, should participate in her punishment. With this petition the king was most graciously pleased to agree; they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which, at the same time, made it capital for all persons to conceal their knowledge of the debaucheries of any future queen. It was also enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason in case she did not previously reveal her guilt. The people made merry with this absurd and brutal statute; and it was said, that the king must henceforth look out for a widow. After all these laws were passed, in which the most wonderful circumstance is, that a body of men could ever be induced to give their consent, the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with the lady Rochford, who found no great degree of compassion, as she had herself before tampered in blood. The queen was more pitied, as she owned that she had led a dissolute life before marriage; but denied in her last moments, and with the utmost solemnity, that she had ever been untrue since her marriage with the king. The public exclaimed so loudly against the severity of the act which brought in so many accomplices of her guilt, that the king did not think proper to execute sentence upon them, though some of them were long detained in confinement.

Henry having thus, by various acts of tyranny, shown that he had abandoned all ideas of justice, morals, or

humanity, at last took it into his head to compose a book of religion, which was to be the code by which his subjects should for the future regulate all their belief and actions. Having procured an act of parliament for this purpose, in which all spiritual supremacy was declared to be vested in him, he published a small volume soon after, called *The Institution of a Christian Man*, which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible standard of orthodoxy. All the abstruse points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers; while the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are there increased to their original number of seven, conformably to the sentiments of the catholics. But the king was not long satisfied with this code of belief; for he soon after procured a new book to be composed, called *the Erudition of a Christian Man*, which he published upon his own authority; and though this new creed differed a great deal from the other, yet he was no less positive in requiring assent to this than he had been to the former. In both these books he was very explicit in enforcing the doctrine of passive obedience; so that his institutions were not likely to weaken what he so powerfully enforced by his severities.

But his authority in religion was not more uncontrolled than in temporal concerns. An alderman, one Read, who had refused to assist him with a benevolence, was pressed as a private soldier, and sent to serve in an army which was levied against an incursion of the Scots. In this manner all who opposed his will were either pressed or imprisoned, happy if they escaped with such slight punishments. His parliament made a law, by which the king's proclamations were to have the same force as statutes; and, to facilitate the execution of this

act, by which all shadow of liberty was totally removed, they appointed that any nine of the privy council should form a legal court for punishing disobedience to all proclamations. Thus the king was empowered to issue a proclamation to destroy the lives, or take away the properties, of any of his subjects; and the only mode of application for redress was to himself in council.

In about a year after the death of the last queen, Henry once more changed his condition, by marrying his sixth and last wife, Catharine Parr, who, A.D. according to the ridiculous suggestions of the 1543. people, was in fact a widow. She was the wife of the late lord Latimer, and was considered as a woman of discretion and virtue. She had already passed the meridian of life, and managed the temper of this capricious tyrant with prudence and success. His amiable days had long been over; he was almost choked with fat, and had contracted a morose air, very far from inspiring affection. Nevertheless, this woman, sacrificing her appetites to her ambition, so far prevailed in gaining his confidence, that she was appointed regent of the kingdom during his absence in France, whither he passed over at the head of thirty thousand men, to prosecute a war which had been declared be- A.D. tween him and the French king. He there be- 1544. haved, as in all his former undertakings, with ineffectual ostentation. Instead of marching into the heart of the country, he sat down before Boulogne, which was obliged to capitulate; and, his ally (the emperor) making a separate peace, Henry was obliged to return with his army into England, where he found his subjects ready to offer him their accustomed adulation, and to praise him for an enterprise in which, at an infinite charge, he had made an acquisition that was of no manner of benefit.

But of all his subjects none seemed more abandoned and basely servile than the members of the two houses of parliament, who, it might be reasonably supposed, would rather have been the protectors of the people than the slaves of the crown. Upon his return from his expensive French expedition, after professions of the greatest submission and profound acknowledgment, they granted him a subsidy equal to his demands, and added to it a gift, which will make their memory odious to the most distant posterity. By one vote they bestowed upon him all the revenues of the two universities, as well as some other places of education and public worship. But, rapacious as this monarch was, he refrained from despoiling those venerable seminaries of their ancient endowments: however, they owed their safety to his lenity, and not to the protection of this base and degenerate parliament. Nor was he less just upon another occasion with regard to the suggestions of his council, who had long conceived a hatred against Cranmer, and laboured to destroy him. This just and moderate man had all along owed his safety to his integrity; and, scorning intrigue himself, was therefore the less liable to be circumvented by the intrigues of others. The catholic party had long represented to the king that Cranmer was the secret cause of most of the divisions which tore the nation, as his example and support were the chief props of heresy. Henry, seeing the point to which they tended, and desirous of knowing how far they would carry their intrigues, feigned a compliance with their wishes, and ordered the council to make inquiry into the primate's conduct and crimes. All the world concluded that his disgrace was certain, and his death inevitable. His old friends, who from mercenary motives had been attached to him, now began to treat him with mor-

tifying neglect: he was obliged to stand *several hours* among the servants at the door of the council-chamber before the members deigned to admit him; and he made his appearance among them only to be informed that they had determined to send him to the Tower. But Cranmer was not to be intimidated by their menaces; he appealed to the king; and when that was denied him, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him to make use of upon that emergency. The privy-counsellors were confounded; and still more so, when, in the presence of the king, they found themselves severely reprov'd, and Cranmer taken into more than former favour. Henry obliged them all to embrace, as a sign of their reconciliation; and Cranmer, from his gentle nature, rendered this reconciliation more sincere on his part than is usual in such forced compliances.

Still, however, the king's severity to the rest of his subjects continued as fierce as ever. For some time he had been incommoded by an ulcer in his leg; the pain of which, added to his corpulence and other infirmities, increased his natural irascibility to such a degree, that scarcely any even of his domestics approached him without terror. It was not to be expected, therefore, that any who differed from him in opinion, should, at this time particularly, hope for pardon. Among the many whose unmerited sufferings excite our A. D. pity and indignation, the fate of Anne Askew 1546. deserves to be particularly remembered. This lady was a woman of merit as well as beauty, and connected with many of the principal ladies at court. It is said that she kept up a correspondence with the queen herself, who secretly favoured the Reformation; and this correspondence only served to hasten this poor woman's ruin, the chancellor being known to be her enemy. However this be, she happened to differ from the

established code of belief, particularly in the article of the real presence; and, notwithstanding the weakness of her sex and age, she was thrown into prison, and accused of heresy. In this situation, with courage far beyond what might be expected, she employed her time in composing prayers and discourses, and vindicating the truth of her opinions. The chancellor Wriothesly, who was much attached to the catholic party, was sent to examine her with regard to her abettors at court; but she maintained the utmost secrecy, and would accuse none. In consequence of this contumacy, as it was called, the poor young lady was put to the torture; but she still continued resolute, and her silence testified her contempt of their petty cruelties. The chancellor, therefore, became outrageous, and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower, who executed this punishment, to stretch the rack still harder; which he refusing to do, and, though menaced, still persisting in a refusal, the chancellor, intoxicated with religious zeal, grasped the cord himself, and drew it so violently that the woman's body was almost torn asunder. But her constancy was greater than the barbarity of her persecutors; so that, finding no other method to subdue her, she was condemned to be burned alive. She received this sentence with a transport of joy, as a release from a state of the greatest pain to the greatest felicity. As her joints had been dislocated by the rack, so that she could not stand, she was carried to the place of execution in a chair. Together with her were brought Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Lascelles, of the king's household, and John Adams, a tailor, who had all been condemned for the same crime. They were tied to the stake; and in that dreadful situation informed, that if they would recant, their lives would be spared. But they refused a life that was to be gained

by such prostitution; and they saw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames which consumed them.

From this indiscriminate severity the queen was not herself entirely secure. She had for some time attended the king in his indisposition, and endeavoured to soothe him by her arts and assiduity. His favourite topic of conversation was theology; and Catharine, who was tinctured with the spirit of the times, would now and then enter into a debate with him upon many speculative tenets that were then in agitation between the Catholics and Lutherans. Henry, highly provoked that she should presume to differ from him, made complaints of her obstinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. Even articles of impeachment were drawn up against her, which were brought to the king by the chancellor to be signed; but, in returning home, he happened to drop the paper. It was very lucky for the queen that the person who found it was in her interest: it was immediately carried to her, and the contents soon made her sensible of the danger to which she was exposed. In this exigency, she was resolved to work upon the king; and paying him her customary visit, he led her as usual to the subject of theology, which at first she seemed to decline, but in which she afterwards engaged, as if merely to gratify his inclinations. In the course of her conversation, however, she gave him to know, that her whole aim in talking was to receive his instructions, and not to controvert them; that it was not for her to set her opinions in opposition to those which served to direct the nation; but she alleged, she could not help trying every art that could induce the king to exert that eloquence which served, for the time, to mitigate his bodily pain. Henry seemed charmed at this discovery;

"And is it so, sweetheart?" cried he: "then we are perfect friends again." Just after this reconciliation, the chancellor made his appearance, with forty pursuivants at his heels, prepared to take the queen into custody. But the king advanced to meet him, and seemed to expostulate with him in the severest terms. The queen could overhear the terms, knave, fool, and beast, which he very liberally bestowed upon that magistrate, and his being ordered to depart. When he was gone, she interposed in his defence; but the king could not help saying, "Poor soul! you know not how little entitled this man is to your good offices." Thenceforth the queen was careful not to offend Henry's humour by contradiction: she was contented to suffer the divines to dispute, and the executioner to destroy. The fires accordingly were kindled against the heretics of both sides, as usual; during which dreadful exhibitions, the king would frequently assemble the houses of parliament, and harangue them with florid orations, in which he would aver, that never prince had a greater affection for his people, nor ever people had a greater affection for their king. In every pause of these extraordinary orations, some of his creatures, near his person, would begin to applaud; and this was followed by loud acclamations from the rest of the audience.

But though his health was declining apace, yet his implacable cruelties were not the less frequent. His resentments were diffused indiscriminately to all: at one time a protestant, and at another a catholic, were the objects of his severity. The duke of Norfolk, and his son the earl of Surrey, were the last that felt the injustice of the tyrant's groundless suspicions. The duke was a nobleman who had served the king with talents and fidelity: his son was a young man of the most promising hopes, who excelled in every accomplishment

that became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. He excelled in all the military exercises which were then in request : he encouraged the fine arts by his practice and example ; and it is remarkable, that he was the first who brought our language, in his poetical pieces, to any degree of refinement. He celebrated the fair Geraldina in all his sonnets, and maintained her superior beauty in all places of public contention. These qualifications, however, were no safeguard to him against Henry's suspicions : he had dropped some expressions of resentment against the king's ministers, upon being displaced from the government of Boulogne ; and the whole family had become obnoxious from the late incontinence of Catharine Howard, the queen, who was executed. From these motives, therefore, private orders were given to arrest the father and son ; and accordingly they were arrested both on the same day, and confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious ; and as to proofs, there were many informers base enough to betray the intimacies of private confidence, and all the connections of blood. The duchess dowager of Richmond, Surrey's own sister, enlisted herself among the number of his accusers ; and Sir Richard Southwell also, his most intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king. It would seem that, at this dreary period, there was neither faith nor honour to be found in all the nation. Surrey denied the charge, and challenged his accuser to single combat. This favour was refused him : and it was alleged, that he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which alone was sufficient to convict him of aspiring to the crown. To this he could make no reply : and indeed any answer would have been needless ; for neither parliaments nor juries, during this reign, seemed to be guided by any

other proofs than the will of the crown. This young nobleman was, therefore, condemned for high-treason, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence; and the sentence was soon after executed upon him on Tower-hill. In the mean time the duke endeavoured to mollify the king by letters and submissions; but the monster's hard heart was rarely subject to tender impressions. As soon as the parliament re-assembled, a bill of attainder was found against the duke, as it was thought he could not so easily have been convicted on a fair hearing by his peers. The only crime that his accusers could allege against him was, that he had once said that the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and that the kingdom was likely to be torn between the contending parties of different persuasions. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an opposite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in so unjust a prosecution; but retired to his seat at Croydon. However, the death warrant was made out, and immediately sent to the lieutenant of the Tower. The duke prepared for death, as the following morning was to be his last; but an event of greater consequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented his execution.

The king had been for some time approaching fast towards his end; and for several days all those about his person plainly saw that his speedy death was inevitable. The disorder in his leg was now grown extremely painful; and this, added to his monstrous corpulency, which rendered him unable to stir, made him more furious than a chained lion. He had ever been stern and severe; he was now outrageous. In this state he had continued for near four years before his death, the terror of all, and the tormentor of himself: his courtiers having no inclination to make an enemy of him, as they

were more ardently employed in conspiring the death of each other. In this manner, therefore, he was suffered to struggle, without any of his domestics having the courage to warn him of his approaching end, as more than once, during this reign, persons had been put to death for foretelling the death of the king. At last, sir Anthony Denny had the courage to disclose to him this dreadful secret; and, contrary to his usual custom, he received the tidings with an expression of resignation. His anguish and remorse were at this time greater than can be expressed: he desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but, before that prelate could arrive, he was speechless. Cranmer desiring him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, he squeezed his hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months, Jan. 28. in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Some kings 1547.

have been tyrants from contradiction and revolt, some from being misled by favourites, and some from a spirit of party: but Henry was cruel from a depraved disposition alone; cruel in government, cruel in religion, and cruel in his family. Our divines have taken some pains to vindicate the character of this brutal prince, as if his conduct and our Reformation had any connection with each other. There is nothing so absurd as to defend the one by the other; the most noble designs are brought about by the most vicious instruments; for we see even that cruelty and injustice were thought necessary to be employed in our holy redemption.

With regard to foreign states, Henry made some expeditions into France, which were attended with vast expense to the nation, and brought it no kind of advantage. However, he all along maintained an intercourse of friendship with Francis, which appeared dis-

interested and sincere. Against the Scots he was rather more successful; his generals having worsted their incursive armies on several occasions. But that which gave England the greatest ascendancy over that nation, was the spirit of concord which soon after seemed to prevail between the two kingdoms; and that seemed to pave the way for their being in time united under the same sovereign. There were ten parliaments summoned in this reign, and twenty-three sessions held; but the whole time in which these parliaments sat, during this long reign, did not exceed three years and a half. The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was mostly confined to the Netherlands. The merchants of the Low-Countries bought the English commodities, and distributed them into the other parts of Europe. These commodities, however, were generally little more than the natural productions of the country, without any manufactures; for it must be observed at this time, that foreign artificers much surpassed the English in dexterity, industry, and frugality; and it is said that at one time not less than fifteen thousand artisans, of the Flemish nation alone, were settled in London.

CHAPTER II.

EDWARD VI.

A. D. 1547—1553.

HENRY the Eighth was succeeded on the throne by his only son, Edward the Sixth, then in the tenth year of his age. The late king in his will, which he expected would be absolutely obeyed, fixed the majority of the

prince at the completion of the eighteenth year ; and, in the mean time, appointed sixteen executors of his will, to whom, during the minority, he intrusted the government of the king and kingdom. But the vanity of his aims was soon discovered ; for the first act of the executors was to choose the earl of Hertford, who was afterwards made duke of Somerset, as protector of the realm ; and in him was lodged all the regal power, together with a privilege of naming whom he would for his privy-council.

This was a favourable season for those of the reformed religion ; and the eyes of the late king were no sooner closed than all of that persuasion congratulated themselves on the event. They no longer suppressed their sentiments, but maintained their doctrines openly, in preaching and teaching, even while the laws against them continued in full force. The protector had long been regarded as the secret partisan of the reformers ; and, being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to express his intention of correcting all the abuses of the ancient religion, and of adopting still more the doctrines propagated by Luther. His power was not a little strengthened by his military success. He wished to compel the Scots to give their young queen (the unfortunate Mary) in marriage to Edward ; and, attacking a part of their army, he slew about eight hundred men. The popularity which he gained upon this occasion seconded his views in the propagation of the new doctrines. But the character of Somerset did not stand in need of the mean supports of popularity acquired in this manner, as he was naturally humble, civil, affable, and courteous, to the meanest suitor, while his actions were in general directed by motives of piety and honour.

The protector, in his schemes for advancing the Re-

formation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to violent changes, and determined to bring over the people by insensible innovations to his own peculiar system. The person who opposed with the greatest authority any farther advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, though he had not obtained a place at the council-board; yet, from his age, experience, and capacity, was regarded by most men with some degree of veneration. Upon a general visitation of the church, which had been commanded by the primate and protector, Gardiner defended the use of images, which the protestants now openly attacked; he even wrote an apology for holy water: but he particularly alleged, that it was unlawful to make any change in religion during the king's minority. This opposition of Gardiner drew on him the indignation of the council; and he was sent to the Fleet prison, where he was treated with harshness and severity.

These internal regulations were in some measure retarded by the war with Scotland, which still continued to rage with some violence. But a defeat which that nation suffered at Musselburgh, in which above ten thousand perished in the field of battle, induced them to sue for peace, in order to gain time; and the protector returned to settle the business of the Reformation, which was as yet only begun. Though he acquired great popularity by this expedition, he did not fail to attract the envy of several noblemen, by procuring a patent from the young king, his nephew, to sit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, and to enjoy the same honours and privileges which had usually been granted to the uncles of kings in England. However, he still drove on his favourite schemes of refor-

mation, and gave more consistency to the tenets of the church. The cup was restored to the daily in the sacrament of the Lord's supper; private masses were abolished; the king was empowered to create bishops by letters-patent; vagabonds were adjudged to be slaves for two years, and to be marked with a red-hot iron; an act commonly supposed to be leveled against the strolling priests and friars. It was enacted also, that all who denied the king's supremacy, or asserted that of the pope, should, for the first offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and suffer imprisonment during pleasure; that, for the second offence, they should incur the pain of premunire; and, for the third, be attainted of treason. Orders were issued by the council, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, or palms on Palm-Sunday. These were ancient superstitious practices, which led to immoralities that it was thought proper to restrain. An order also was issued for the removal of all images from the churches; an innovation which was much desired by the reformers, and which alone, with regard to the populace, amounted almost to a change of the established religion. The people had for some time been extremely distracted by the opposite opinions of their preachers; and as they were totally incapable of judging of the arguments advanced on either side, and naturally regarded every thing they heard at church as of the greatest authority, much confusion and fluctuation resulted from this uncertainty. The council first endeavoured to remove the inconvenience by laying some restraints upon preaching: but finding this expedient fail, they imposed a total silence upon preachers; which, however, was removed by degrees, in proportion as the Reformation gained ground among the people.

But these innovations, evidently calculated for the good of the people, were not brought about without some struggles at home, while the protector was but too busily employed against the Scots, who, united with, and seconded by, France, still pushed on their inroads with unremitting animosity. Besides, there was still an enemy that he had yet to fear more than any of the former; and this was his own brother, lord Thomas Seymour, the admiral, a man of uncommon talents, but proud, turbulent, and intractable. This nobleman could not endure the distinction which the king had always made between him and his elder brother; so that they divided the whole court and the kingdom by their opposite cabals and pretensions. By his flattery and address he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the decease of the late king. This match was particularly displeasing to the elder brother's wife, who now saw that, while her husband had the precedency in one place, she was obliged to yield it in another. His next step was to cabal and make a party among the nobility, who, as they hated his brother, fomented his ambition. He then bribed the king's domestics to his interest; and young Edward frequently went to his house, on pretence of visiting the queen. There he ingratiated himself with his sovereign, by the most officious assiduities, particularly by supplying him with money to distribute among his servants and favourites, without the knowledge of his governor. In the protector's absence with the army in Scotland, he made it his business to redouble all his arts and insinuations; and thus obtained a new patent for admiral, with an additional appointment. Sir William Paget, perceiving the progress he daily made in the king's affection, wrote on the sub-

ject to the protector, who finished the campaign in Scotland with all possible dispatch, that he might return in time to counterwork his machinations. But before he could arrive in England, his brother had engaged in his party several of the principal nobility, and had even prevailed on the king himself to write a letter to the two houses of parliament with his own hand, desiring that the admiral might be appointed his governor; but the council, being apprised of his schemes, sent deputies to assure him, that, if he did not desist, they would deprive him of his office, send him prisoner to the Tower, and prosecute him on the last act of parliament, by which he was subject to the penalty of high-treason, for attempting to disturb the peace of the government. It was not without some severe struggles within himself, and some menaces divulged among his creatures, that he thought proper to submit, and desired to be reconciled to his brother. But he still nourished the same designs in secret; and his brother, suspecting his sincerity, employed spies to inform him of all his private transactions.

It was not in the power of persuasions or menaces to shake the admiral's unalterable views of ambition. His spouse, the queen-dowager, had died in child-bed; and this accident, far from repressing his schemes, only seemed to promote them. He made his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, afterwards so revered by the English; and it is said that she listened to his insinuations, contrary to the will of her father, who had excluded her from the succession, if she should marry without the consent of the council. The admiral, however, it is observed, had formed a scheme calculated to remove that objection; and his professions seemed to give reason to believe that he intended aiming at regal authority. By promises and persuasions he brought

over many of the principal nobility to his party ; he neglected not even the most popular persons of inferior rank ; and he computed that he could on occasion command the service of ten thousand men among his servants, tenants, and retainers. He had already provided arms for their use ; and having engaged in his interests sir John Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol, a very corrupt man, he flattered himself that money would not be wanting.

A. D. Somerset, being well ascertained of all these 1548. alarming circumstances, endeavoured by every expedient that his power or his near connection could suggest, to draw him from his designs. He reasoned, he threatened ; he heaped new favours upon him ; but all to no purpose. At length he resolved to make use of the last dreadful remedy, and to attain his own brother of high-treason. In consequence of this resolution, and secretly advised to it by Dudley, earl of Warwick, a wicked ambitious man, who expected to rise upon the downfall of the two brothers, he deprived him of his office of high-admiral, and signed a warrant for committing him to the Tower. Yet still the protector suspended the blow, and showed reluctance to ruin one so nearly connected with himself : he offered once more to be sincerely reconciled, and to give him his life, if he would be contented to spend the remainder of his days in retirement and repentance. But finding himself unable to work on the inflexible temper of his brother by any methods but severity, he ordered a charge to be drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles ; and the whole to be brought into parliament, which was now the instrument used by ministers for the punishment of their enemies. The charge being brought first into the house of lords, several peers, rising up in their places, gave an account of what they

knew concerning lord Seymour's conduct, and his criminal words and actions. There was greater A. D. difficulty in managing the prosecution in the 1549. house of commons; but upon receiving a message from the king, requiring them to proceed, the bill passed in a very full house, near four hundred voting for it, and not above nine or ten against it. The sentence was soon after executed by beheading him on Tower-hill. His death, however, was, in general, disagreeable to the nation, who considered the lord Seymour as hardly dealt with, in being condemned upon general allegations, without having an opportunity of making a defence, or confronting his accusers. But the chief odium fell upon the protector; and it must be owned there was no reason for carrying his severity to such a length as he did.

This obstacle being removed, the protector went on to reform and regulate the new system of religion, which was now become the chief concern of the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the council to frame a liturgy for the service of the church; and this work was executed with great moderation, precision, and accuracy. A law was also enacted, permitting priests to marry; the ceremony of auricular confession, though not abolished, was left at the discretion of the people, who were not displeased at being freed from the spiritual tyranny of their instructors. The doctrine of the real presence was the last tenet of popery that was wholly abandoned by the people, as both the clergy and laity were loth to renounce so miraculous a benefit as it was asserted to be. However, at last, not only this, but all the principal opinions and practices of the catholic religion, contrary to what the Scripture authorises, were abolished; and the Reformation, such as we have it, was almost en-

tirely completed in England. In these innovations the majority of the people and clergy acquiesced; and Gardiner and Bonner were the only persons whose opposition was thought of any weight; they were, therefore, sent to the Tower, and threatened with the king's farther displeasure in case of disobedience.

But it had been well for the credit of the reformers, had they stopped at imprisonment only. They also resolved to become persecutors in turn; and although the very spirit of their doctrines arose from a freedom of thinking, they could not bear that any should controvert what they had been at so much pains to establish. A commission was granted to the primate and some others, to search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the new liturgy. Among the number of those who were supposed to incur guilt upon this occasion, was one Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent; who was so extremely obstinate, that the commissioners could gain nothing upon her. She had maintained an abstruse metaphysical sentiment, that Christ, as man, was a sinful man; but, as the Word, he was free from sin, and could be subject to none of the frailties of the flesh with which he was clothed. For maintaining this doctrine, which none of them could understand, this poor ignorant woman was condemned to be burned to death as a heretic. The young king, who, it seems, had more sense than his ministers, refused at first to sign the death-warrant; but, being at last pressed by Cranmer, and vanquished by his importunities, he reluctantly complied; declaring that, if he did wrong, the sin should be on the head of those who had persuaded him to it. The primate made a new effort to reclaim the woman from her opinions; but, finding her obstinate against all his arguments, he at last committed her to the flames. Some time after, one

Van Paris, a Dutchman, being accused of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with so much satisfaction, that he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him, and died exulting in his situation.

Although these measures were intended for the benefit of the nation, and in the end turned out entirely to the advantage of society, yet they were at that time attended with many inconveniences, to which all changes whatsoever are liable. When the monasteries were suppressed, a prodigious number of monks were obliged to earn their subsistence by their labour; so that all kinds of business were overstocked. The lands of the monasteries also had been formerly farmed out to the common people, so as to employ a great number of hands: and the rents being moderate, they were able to maintain their families on the profits of agriculture. But now these lands being possessed by the nobility, the rents were raised; and the farmers, perceiving that wool was a better commodity than corn, turned all their fields into pasture. In consequence of this practice, the price of meal rose, to the unspeakable hardship of the lower class of people. Beside, as few hands were required to manage a pasture farm, a great number of poor people were utterly deprived of subsistence, while the nation was filled with murmurs and complaints, against the nobility, who were considered as the sources of the general calamity. To add to these complaints the rich proprietors of lands proceeded to enclose their estates; while the tenants, regarded as an useless burthen, were expelled from their habitations. Cottagers, deprived of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to misery; and a great decay of people and diminution of provisions were observed in every part of the kingdom. To add to this picture of

general calamity, all the good coin of the kingdom was hoarded up or exported; while base metal was coined, or imported from the continent, in great abundance; and this the poor were obliged to receive in payment, but could not disburse at an equal advantage. Thus an universal diffidence and stagnation of commerce took place; and loud complaints were heard in every quarter.

The protector, who knew that his own power was to be founded on the depression of the nobility, espoused the cause of the sufferers. He appointed commissioners to examine whether the possessors of the church-lands had fulfilled the conditions on which those lands had been sold by the crown; and ordered all late enclosures to be laid open on an appointed day. As the object of this commission was very disagreeable to the gentry and nobility, they called it arbitrary and illegal; while the common people, fearing it would be eluded, and being impatient for redress, rose in great numbers, and sought a remedy by force of arms. The rising began at once in several parts of England, as if an universal conspiracy had been formed among the people. The rebels in Wiltshire were dispersed by sir William Herbert; those of Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Grey of Wilton; the commotions in Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and other counties, were quieted by gentle methods; but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk were the most obstinate, and threatened the greatest danger. In the former of these counties, the insurgents, amounting to ten thousand men, were headed by one Humphrey Arundel, an experienced soldier; and they were still more encouraged by sermons, which gave their revolt the air of a religious confederacy. They accordingly sent a set of articles to court, which, in general, demanded an abolition of the statutes lately made in favour of the Reformation; but the ministry rejected their

demands with contempt, at the same time offering a pardon to all who would lay down their arms and return to their habitations. But the insurgents were now too far advanced to recede; and, still encouraged by the monks who were with them, they laid siege to Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, holy water, candlesticks, and other implements of their ancient superstition; but the town was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. In the mean time, lord Russel had been sent against them with a small body of forces; and, being reinforced by lord Grey and others, he attacked and drove them from all their entrenchments. Great slaughter was committed upon these deluded creatures, both in the action and the pursuit. Arundel, their leader, and several others, were sent to London, where they were condemned and executed. Many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law. The vicar of St. Thomas, one of the principal incendiaries, was hanged on the top of his own steeple, arrayed in his popish habit, with his beads at his girdle.

The sedition in Norfolk appeared still more alarming. The insurgents there amounted to twenty thousand men; and, as their forces were numerous, their demands were exorbitant. They required the suppression of the gentry, the placing new counsellors about the king, and the re-establishment of their ancient religious ceremonies. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed a priority among them; he erected his tribunal near Norwich, under an old oak, which was termed the Oak of Reformation. He afterwards undertook the siege of Norwich; which, having reduced, he imprisoned the mayor, and some of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was first sent down against them, but met with a repulse; the earl of Warwick followed soon after, at the head of six thousand men, and, coming to a general en-

gagement, put them entirely to the rout. Two thousand of them fell in the fight and pursuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich castle, nine of his followers on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation; and the insurrection, which was the last in favour of popery, was thus entirely suppressed.

But though the suppression of these insurrections seemed to be very favourable to the interests of the protector, the authority which the earl of Warwick gained in quelling that of Norfolk terminated in Somerset's ruin. Of all the ministers at that time in the council, Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the most artful, ambitious, and unprincipled. Resolved at any rate to possess the principal place under the king, he cared not what means were to be used in acquiring it. However, unwilling to throw off the mask, he covered the most exorbitant views under the fairest appearances. Having associated himself with the earl of Southampton, he formed a strong party in the council, who were determined to free themselves from the control the protector assumed over them. That nobleman was, in fact, now grown obnoxious to a very prevailing party in the kingdom. He was hated by the nobles for his superior magnificence and power; he was hated by the catholic party for his regard to the Reformation; he was disliked by many for his severity to his brother: besides, the great estate he had raised at the expense of the church and the crown rendered him obnoxious to all. The palace which he was then building in the Strand, served also, by its magnificence, and still more by the unjust methods that were taken to raise it, to expose him to the censures of the public. The parish-church of St. Mary, and three bishops' houses, were pulled down to furnish ground and materials for the structure. Several other churches were demolished, to have their

stones employed for the same purpose; and it was not without an insurrection that the inhabitants of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, prevented their church from being pulled down to make room for the new fabric.

These imprudences were soon exaggerated and enlarged upon by Somerset's enemies. They represented him as a parricide, a sacrilegious tyrant, and an unjust usurper of the privileges of the council and the rights of the king. In consequence of this, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five counsellors more, met at Ely house; and, assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the protector, whom they pretended to consider as the author of every public grievance. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry of England, informing them of the present measures, and requiring their assistance. They sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and enjoined them to concur in their measures, which they represented as the only means of saving the nation. The next day several others of the council joined the seceding members; and the protector now began to tremble, not merely for his authority, but for his life.

He had no sooner been informed of these transactions than he sent the king to Windsor, and armed the inhabitants of Hampton and Windsor also for his security. But finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, and that the people did not rise at his summons; perceiving that he was in a manner deserted by all, and that all resistance was fruitless; he resolved to apply to his enemies for pardon. This gave fresh strength and confidence to the party of Warwick; they assured the king, with the humblest profes-

sions of obedience, that their only aim was to put the council on the same footing on which it had been ordained by the will of their late sovereign, and to rescue his authority from the hands of a man who had assumed all power to himself. The king, who had little regard for Somerset, gave their address a favourable reception ; and the protector was sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partisans. Meanwhile the council ordered six lords to act as governors to the king, two at a time officiating alternately. It was then, for the first time, that the earl of Warwick's ambition began to appear in full splendour ; he set himself forward as the principal promoter of the protector's ruin ; and the other members, without the least opposition, permitted him to assume the reins of government.

It was now concluded that Somerset's fate was fixed, as his enemies were numerous, and the charges against him were supposed to be of a very heinous nature. The chief article of which he was accused was his usurpation of the government, and the taking all power into his own hands ; several others of a slighter tint were added to invigorate this accusation ; but none of them could be said to amount to the crime of high-treason. In con-

A. D. sequence of these, a bill of attainder was preferred against him in the house of lords ; but Somerset contrived, for this time, to elude the rigour of their sentence, by having previously, on his knees, confessed the charge before the members of the council. This confession, which he signed with his own hand, was alleged and read against him at the bar of the house, who sent a deputation to him, to know whether the confession was voluntary or extorted. Somerset thanked them for their candour ; owned that it was his voluntary act, but strenuously insisted, that he had never harboured a sinister thought against the king or the

common-wealth. In consequence of this confession, he was deprived of all offices and goods, together with a great part of his landed estate, which was forfeited to the use of the crown. This fine on his estate was soon after remitted by the king; and, contrary to the expectation of all, he recovered his liberty. He was even re-admitted into the council: happy for him if his ambition had not revived with his security.

The catholics were extremely elevated at the protector's fall; and they began to entertain hopes of a revolution in their favour. But they were mistaken in their opinion of Warwick, who now took the lead, as ambition was the only principle in his breast; and to that he was resolved to sacrifice all others. He soon gave an instance of his disregard to their sect, in permitting Gardiner to undergo the penalties prescribed against disobedience. Many of the prelates, and he among the rest, though they made some compliance, were still addicted to their ancient communion. A resolution was therefore taken to deprive them of their sees; and it was thought proper to begin with him, in order to strike a terror into the rest. He had been now for two years in prison, for having refused to inculcate the duty of obedience to the king during his minority; and the council took this opportunity to send him several articles to subscribe, among which was one, acknowledging the justice of the order for his confinement. He was likewise to own that the king was supreme head of the church; that the power of making and dispensing holidays was a part of the prerogative; and that the Common Prayer Book was a godly and commendable form. Gardiner was willing to put his hand to all the articles, except that by which he accused himself; which he refused to do, justly perceiving that their aim was either to ruin or dishonour him. For this offence he

was deprived of his bishopric, and committed to close custody; his books and papers were seized; all company was denied him; and he was not even permitted the use of pen and ink. This severity, in some measure, countenanced those which this prelate had afterwards an opportunity of retaliating when he came into power.

A. D. But the reformers did not stop here; the rapid 1551. pacious courtiers, never to be satisfied, and giving their violence an air of zeal, deprived, in the same manner, Day, bishop of Chichester, Heath of Worcester, and Vesey of Exeter. The bishops of Llandaff, Salisbury, and Coventry, came off rather less disadvantageously, by sacrificing the most considerable share of their ecclesiastical revenues. Not only the revenues of the church, but the libraries also, underwent a severe scrutiny. The libraries of Westminster and Oxford were ordered to be ransacked, and purged of the Romish missals, legends, and other superstitious volumes; in which search great devastation was made even in useful literature. Many volumes, clasped in silver, were destroyed for the sake of their rich bindings; many of geometry and astronomy were supposed to be magical, and met no mercy. The university, unable to stop the fury of those barbarians, silently looked on, and trembled for its own security.

Warwick was willing to indulge the nobility with these humiliations of the church; and perceiving that the king was extremely attached to the Reformation, he supposed that he could not make his court to the young monarch better than by a seeming zeal in the cause. But he was still steadfastly bent on enlarging his own power; and, as the last earl of Northumberland died without issue or heirs, Warwick procured for himself a grant of his ample possessions, and obtained the

title also of duke of Northumberland. The duke of Somerset was now the only person he wished to have entirely removed; for, fallen as he was by his late spiritless conduct, yet he still preserved a share of popularity that rendered him formidable to this aspirer. Indeed Somerset was not always upon his guard against the arts of Northumberland, but could not help now and then bursting out into invectives, which were quickly carried to his secret enemy. As he was surrounded by the creatures of the new duke, they took care to reveal all the schemes which they had themselves suggested; and Somerset soon found the fatal effects of his rival's resentment. He was, by Northumberland's command, arrested, with many more accused of being his partisans; and he was, with his wife the duchess, thrown into prison. He was now accused of having conspired to raise an insurrection in the north, to attack the trained-bands on a muster-day, secure the Tower, and excite a rebellion in London. These charges he strenuously denied; but he confessed one of as heinous a nature, which was, that he had laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a banquet which was to be given them by lord Paget. He was soon after brought to a trial before the marquis of Winchester, who sat as high-steward on the occasion, with twenty-seven peers more, including Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton, who were at once his judges and accusers. He was accused of an intention to secure the person of the king, and re-assume the administration of affairs; to assassinate the duke of Northumberland, and raise an insurrection in the city. He pleaded "not guilty" to the first part of the charge; and of this he was accordingly acquitted; but he was found guilty of conspiring the death of a privy counsellor, which crime had been made felony in the reign

of Henry the Seventh ; and for this he was condemned to death. The populace, seeing him reconveyed to the Tower without the axe, which was no longer carried before him, imagined that he had been entirely acquitted, and in repeated shouts and acclamations manifested their joy ; but this was suddenly damped, when they were better informed of his doom. Caré, in the mean time, had been taken to prepossess the young king against his uncle ; and, lest he should relent, no access was given to any of Somerset's friends, while the prince was kept from reflection by a series of occupations and amusements. At last the prisoner was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he appeared without the least emotion, in the midst of a vast concourse of the populace, by whom he was beloved. He spoke to them with great composure, protesting that he had always promoted the service of his king, and the interests of true religion, to the best of his power. The people attested their belief to what he said, by crying out, " It is A. D. most true." As an universal tumult was beginning to take place among them, Somerset desired them to be still, and not to interrupt his last meditations, but to join with him in prayer : he then laid down his head, and submitted to the stroke of the executioner. Sir Ralph Vane and sir Miles Partridge were hanged, sir Michael Stanhope and sir Thomas Arundel were beheaded, as being his accomplices.

Nothing could have been more unpopular than the measure of destroying Somerset, who, though some actions of his life were very exceptionable, consulted the good of the people. The house of commons was particularly attached to him ; and of this Northumberland was very sensible. He therefore advised the king to dissolve the parliament, and call another that would be more obsequious to his will. Edward was even pre-

vailed upon to write circular letters to all the sheriffs, in which he enjoined them to choose such men as he and the privy-council should recommend. With this despotic mandate the sheriffs readily complied ; and the members returned fully answered Northumberland's expectations. He had long aimed at the first authority ; and the infirm state of the king's health opened the A. D. prospects of his ambition. He represented to 1552. that young prince that his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, who were appointed by Henry's will to succeed on the failure of direct heirs to the crown, had been both declared illegitimate by parliament ; that the queen of Scotland was excluded by the king's will, and, being an alien also, lost all right of succeeding ; that as the three princesses were thus legally excluded, the succession naturally devolved to the marchioness of Dorset (niece of Henry), whose heir was the lady Jane Grey, a lady every way accomplished for government, as well by the charms of her person as the virtues and acquirements of her mind. The king, who had long submitted to all the politic views of this designing minister, agreed to have the succession submitted to the council, where Northumberland hoped to procure an easy concurrence.

In the mean time, as the king's health declined, the minister laboured to strengthen his own interests and connexions. His first aim was to secure the interest of the marquis of Dorset, father to lady Jane Grey, by procuring for him the title of duke of Suffolk, which was lately become extinct. Having thus obliged this nobleman, he then proposed a match between his fourth son, Lord Guilford Dudley, and the lady Jane Grey, whose interests he had been at so much pains to advance. Still bent on spreading his interests as widely as possible, he married his own daughter to lord Hastings, and had these marriages solemnized with all pos-

sible pomp and festivity. Mean while, Edward continued to languish; and several fatal symptoms of a consumption began to appear. It was hoped, however, that his youth and temperance might get the better of his disorder; and from their love the people were unwilling to think him in danger. It had been remarked indeed by some, that his health was visibly seen to decline from the time that the Dudleys were brought about his person. The character of Northumberland might have justly given some colour to suspicion; and his removing all, except his own emissaries, from about the king, still farther increased the disgusts of the people. Northumberland was no way uneasy at their murmurs; he was assiduous in his attendance upon the king, and professed the most anxious concern for his safety, but still drove forward his darling scheme of transferring the succession to his own daughter-in-law. The judges who were appointed to draw up the king's letters-patent for that purpose, warmly objected to the measure, and gave their reasons before the council. They begged that a parliament might be summoned, both to give it force, and to free its partisans from danger; they said that the form was invalid, and would not only subject the judges who drew it, but every counsellor who signed it, to the pains of treason. Northumberland could not brook their demurs; he threatened them with the dread of his authority; he called one of them a traitor, and said that he would fight in his shirt with any man in so just a cause as that of the lady Jane's succession. A method was therefore found out of screening the judges from danger, by granting them the king's pardon for what they should draw up; and at length, after much deliberation, and some refusals, the patent for changing the succession was completed. By this patent, Mary and Elizabeth were set aside, and the crown was settled on

the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk ; for the duchess herself was contented to forego her claim.

Northumberland, having thus far succeeded, thought physicians were no longer serviceable in the king's complaint ; they were dismissed by his advice ; and Edward was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who very confidently undertook his cure. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to a most violent degree ; he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing ; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid, and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end. He expired at 1553. Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, greatly regretted by all, as his early virtues gave a prospect of the continuance of a happy reign. What were the real qualities of this young prince's heart, there was not time to discover ; but the cultivation of his understanding, if we may credit historians, was amazing. He was said to understand the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages. He was versed in logic, music, natural philosophy, and theology. Cardan, the extraordinary scholar and physician, happening to pay a visit to the English court, was so astonished at his early progress, that he extols him as a prodigy of nature. It is probable, however, that so much flattery as he received would have contributed to corrupt him, as it had formerly corrupted his father.

CHAPTER III.

MARY.

A. D. 1553—1558.

THE death of Edward only served to prepare fresh troubles for a people who had hitherto greatly suffered from the depravity of their kings, or the turbulence of their nobility. The succession to the throne had hitherto been obtained partly by lineal descent, and partly by the aptitude for government in the person chosen. Neither quite hereditary, nor quite elective, it had made ancestry the pretext of right, while the consent of the people was necessary to support all hereditary pretensions. In fact, when wisely conducted, this is the best species of succession that can be conceived, as it prevents that aristocracy which is ever the result of a government entirely elective, and that tyranny which is too often established, where there is never an infringement of hereditary claims.

Whenever a monarch of England happened to be arbitrary, and to enlarge the prerogative, he generally considered the kingdom as his property, and not himself as a servant of the people. In such a case, it was natural for him at his decease to bequeath his dominions as he thought proper, making his own will the standard of his subjects' happiness. Henry the Eighth, in conformity to this practice, made his will, in which he settled the succession merely according to his caprice. In that, Edward his son was the first nominated to succeed him; then Mary, his eldest daughter by Catharine of Spain; but with a special mark of condescension, by which he would intimate her illegitimacy. The next

that followed was Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn, with the same marks, intimating her illegitimacy also. After his own children, his sisters' children were mentioned: the issue of his younger sister the duchess of Suffolk were preferred to those of his elder sister the queen of Scotland; which preference was thought by all to be neither founded in justice, nor supported by reason. This will was now, however, set aside by the intrigues of Northumberland, by whose advice a will was made, as we have seen, in favour of lady Jane Grey, in prejudice of all other claimants. Thus, after the death of this young monarch, there were no fewer than four princesses who could assert their pretensions to the crown: Mary, who was the first upon Henry's will, but who had been declared illegitimate by an act of parliament, which had not been repealed: Elizabeth was next to succeed; and though she had been declared illegitimate, yet she had been restored to her rights during her father's life: the young queen of Scotland, grand-daughter of Henry's eldest sister, was first in right, supposing the two daughters illegitimate: while lady Jane Grey might allege the will of the late king in her own favour.

Of these, however, only two put in their pretensions to the crown; Mary, relying on the justice of her cause, and lady Jane upon the support of the duke of Northumberland, her father-in-law. Mary was strongly bigoted to the popish superstitions, having been bred up among churchmen, and having been even taught to prefer martyrdom to a denial of belief. As she had lived in continual restraint, she was reserved and gloomy; she had, even during the life of Henry, the resolution to maintain her sentiments, and refused to comply with his new institutions. Her zeal had rendered her furious; and she was not only blindly attached to her religious

opinions, but even to the popish clergy who maintained them. On the other hand, Jane Grey was strongly attached to the reformers; and though yet but sixteen, her judgment had attained to such a degree of maturity as few have been found to possess. All historians agree that the solidity of her understanding, improved by continual application, rendered her the wonder of her age. Ascham, tutor to Elizabeth, informs us, that, having visited lady Jane at her father's house in Leicestershire, he found her reading Plato's works in Greek, while all the rest of the family were hunting in the park. Upon his testifying his surprise at her situation, she assured him that Plato was a higher amusement to her than the most studied refinements of sensual pleasure; and she, in fact, seemed born for philosophy, and not for ambition.

Such were the present rivals for power; but lady Jane had the start of her antagonist. Northumberland, now resolving to secure the succession, carefully concealed the death of Edward, in hope of securing the person of Mary, who, by an order of council, had been required to attend her brother during his illness; but being informed of his death, she immediately prepared to assert her pretensions to the crown. This crafty minister, therefore, finding that farther dissimulation was needless, went to Sion-house, accompanied by the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility, to salute lady Jane Grey, who resided there. Jane was in a great measure ignorant of all these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received intelligence of them. She shed a flood of tears, appeared inconsolable, and it was not without the utmost difficulty that she yielded to the entreaties of Northumberland and the duke her father. At length, however, they exhorted her to consent, and next day

conveyed her to the Tower, where it was usual for the sovereigns of England to pass some days after their accession. Thither also all the members of the council were obliged to attend her, and thus were in some measure made prisoners by Northumberland, whose will they were under a necessity of obeying. Orders were also given for proclaiming her throughout the kingdom; but these were very remissly obeyed. When she was proclaimed in the city, the people heard her accession made public without any signs of pleasure: no applause ensued, and some even expressed their scorn and contempt.

In the mean time, Mary, who had retired, upon the news of the king's death, to Kenning-Hall in Norfolk, sent circular letters to all the great towns and nobility in the kingdom, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay. Having taken these steps, she retired to Framlingham-Castle in Suffolk, that she might be near the sea, and escape to Flanders in case of failure. But she soon found her affairs wear the most promising aspect. The men of Suffolk came to pay her their homage; and, being assured by her that she would defend the laws and the religion of her predecessor, they enlisted themselves in her cause with alacrity and affection. The people of Norfolk soon after came in; the earls of Bath and Sussex, and the eldest sons of lord Wharton and lord Mordaunt, joined her; and lord Hastings, with four thousand men, who had been raised to oppose her, revolted to her side. Even a fleet, that had been sent to lie off the coast of Suffolk to prevent her escaping, engaged in her service; and now, but too late, Northumberland saw the deplorable end of all his schemes and ambition.

This minister, with the consent of the council, had as-

sembled some troops at Newmarket, had set on foot new levies in London, and appointed the duke of Suffolk general of the army, that he might himself continue with and over-awe the deliberations of the council. But he was diverted from this mode of managing his affairs, by considering how unfit Suffolk was to head the army; so that he was obliged himself to take upon him the military command. It was now, therefore, that the council, being free from his influence, and no longer dreading his immediate authority, began to declare against him. The earl of Arundel led the opposition, by representing the injustice and cruelty of Northumberland, and the exorbitancy of his ambition. Pembroke seconded him with declarations that he was ready to fight all of a contrary opinion; the mayor and aldermen, who were sent for, readily came into the same measures; the people expressed their approbation by shouts and applauses; and even Suffolk himself, finding all resistance fruitless, threw open the gates of the Tower, and joined in the general cry. Mary's claims now became irresistible; in a little time she found herself at the head of a powerful army; while the few who attended Northumberland continued irresolute; and he even feared to lead them to the encounter.

Lady Jane, thus finding that all was lost, resigned her royalty, which she had held but nine days, with marks of real satisfaction, and retired with her mother to her own habitation. Northumberland also, who found his affairs desperate, and that it was impossible to stem the tide of popular opposition, attempted to quit the kingdom; but he was prevented by the band of pensioner guards, who informed him that he must stay to justify their conduct in being led out against their lawful sovereign. Thus circumvented on all sides, his cunning was now his only resource; and he began by endea-

vouring to recommend himself to Mary, by the most extravagant protestations of zeal in her service. He repaired to the market-place in Cambridge, proclaimed her queen of England, and was the first to throw up his cap in token of joy. But he reaped no advantage from his mean duplicity; he was the next day arrested in the queen's name by the earl of Arundel, at whose feet he fell upon his knees begging protection with the most abject submission. Three of his sons, his brother, and some more of his followers, were arrested with him, and committed to the Tower of London. Soon after, the lady Jane Grey, the duke of Suffolk her father, and lord Guilford Dudley her husband, were made prisoners by order of the queen, whose authority was now confirmed by universal assent.

Northumberland was the first who suffered for opposing her, and was the person who deserved punishment the most. When brought to his trial, he openly desired permission to ask two questions of the peers who were appointed to sit on his jury: "Whether a man could be guilty of treason, who obeyed orders given him by the council under the great seal; and whether those involved in the same guilt with himself could act as his judges?" Being told that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that his judges were proper, as they were unimpeached, he acquiesced, and pleaded Guilty. At his execution, he owned himself a papist, and exhorted the people to return to the catholic faith, as they hoped for happiness and tranquillity. Sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer, two of the infamous tools of his power, suffered with him; and the queen's resentment was appeased by the lives of three men, who had forfeited them by several former crimes. Sentence was pronounced against lady Jane and lord Guilford, but without any intention for the present of

putting it in execution : the youth and innocence of the persons, neither of whom had completed their seventeenth year, pleaded powerfully in their favour.

Mary now entered London, and, with very little effusion of blood, saw herself joyfully proclaimed, and peaceably settled on the throne. This was the crisis of English happiness : a queen whose right was the most equitable, in some measure elected by the people, the aristocracy of the last reign almost wholly suppressed, the house of commons by this means reinstated in its ancient authority, the pride of the clergy humbled, and their vices detected, peace abroad, and unanimity at home ; this was the flattering prospect on Mary's accession : but soon this pleasing phantom was dissolved. Mary was morose, and a bigot ; she was resolved to give back their former power to the clergy, and thus once more to involve the kingdom in all the horrors it had just emerged from. The queen had promised the men of Suffolk, who first came to declare in her favour, that she would suffer religion to remain in the situation in which she found it. This promise, however, she by no means intended to perform ; she had determined on bringing the sentiments of the people to correspond with her own ; and her extreme ignorance rendered her utterly incapable of doubting her own belief, or of granting indulgence to the doubts of others. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, Day, Heath, and Vesey, who had been confined, or suffered losses, for their catholic opinions, during the late reign, were taken from prison, reinstated in their sees, and their former sentences repealed. On pretence of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by her prerogative, all preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular licence, which she was previously determined to grant only to those of her own persuasion. Men now foresaw that the Re-

formation was to be overturned ; and though the queen still pretended that she would grant a general toleration, yet no great favour could be expected by those whom from inveterate prejudice she hated.

The first step that caused an alarm among the protestants was the severe treatment of Cranmer, whose moderation, integrity, and virtues, had made him dear even to most of the catholic party. A report being spread, that this prelate, in order to make his court to the queen, had promised to officiate in the Latin service, he drew up a declaration, in which he entirely cleared himself of the aspersion, but incurred what was much more terrible, the queen's resentment. On the publication of this paper Cranmer was thrown into prison, and tried for the part he had acted, in concurring, among the rest of the council, to exalt lady Jane, and set aside the rightful sovereign. This guilt he had in fact incurred ; but as it was shared with a large body of men, most of whom were not only uncensured, but even taken into favour, the malignancy of the prosecution was easily seen through. Sentence of high treason was, therefore, pronounced against him ; but it was not then executed, as this venerable man was reserved for a more dreadful punishment. Shortly after, Peter Martyr, a German reformer, who had in the late reign been invited over to England, seeing how things were likely to go, desired leave to return to his native country. But the zeal of the catholics, though he had escaped them, was malignantly, though harmlessly, wreaked upon the body of his wife, which had been interred some years before at Oxford : it was dug up by public order, and buried in a dunghill. The bones also of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign reformers, were about the same time committed to the flames at Cambridge. The greater part of the foreign protestants took early precautions to leave the

kingdom; and many arts and manufactures fled with them. Nor were their fears without foundation; a parliament, which the queen called soon after, seemed willing to concur in all her measures; they at one blow repealed all the statutes with regard to religion, which had passed during the reign of her predecessor; so that the national religion was again placed on the same footing on which it stood at the death of Henry the Eighth.

While religion was thus returning to its pristine abuses, the queen's ministers, who were willing to strengthen her power by a catholic alliance, had been for some time looking out for a proper consort. The person on whom her own affections seemed chiefly placed was the earl of Devonshire; but that nobleman, either disliking her person, or having already placed his affections on her sister Elizabeth, neglected all overtures to such an alliance. Pole, who, though a cardinal, was not a priest, and was therefore at liberty to marry, was proposed as a husband for the queen, as he was a person of high character for virtue, generosity, and attachment to the catholic religion. But, as he was in the decline of life, Mary soon dropped all thoughts of him. The person last thought of, and who succeeded; was Philip prince of Spain, son of the celebrated Charles the Fifth. In order to avoid any disagreeable remon-

A. D. strances from the people, the articles of marriage 1554. were drawn as favourably as possible to the interests and honour of England; and this, in some measure, stilled the clamours that had already arisen against it. It was agreed, that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that her issue should inherit, together with

England, Burgundy, and the Low-Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die, the queen's issue should enjoy all the dominions possessed by the king. Such was the treaty of marriage, from which politicians foresaw very great changes in the system of Europe; but which in the end came to nothing, by the queen's having no issue.

The people, however, who did not see so far, were much more just in their surmises that it might be a blow to their liberties and religion. They loudly murmured against it, and a flame of discontent was kindled over the whole nation. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Roman catholic, at the head of four thousand insurgents, marched from Kent to Hyde Park, publishing, as he went forward, a declaration against the queen's evil counsellors, and against the Spanish match. His first aim was to secure the Tower; but this rashness undid him. As he marched forward through the city of London, and among the narrow streets, without suspicion, care was taken by the earl of Pembroke to block up the way behind him by ditches and chains thrown across, and guards were placed at all the avenues, to prevent his return. In this manner did the bald rebel pass onward; and he supposed himself ready to reap the fruits of his undertaking, when, to his utter confusion, he found that he could neither go forward, nor yet make good his retreat. He now perceived that the citizens, from whom he had expected assistance, would not join him; and, losing all courage in this exigency, he surrendered at discretion.

The duke of Suffolk was not less guilty also; he had joined in a confederacy with sir Peter Carew, to excite an insurrection in the counties of Warwick and Leicester; but his confederate's impatience engaging him to rise in arms before the day appointed, the duke vainly

endeavoured to excite his dependents. He was so closely pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, that he was obliged to disperse his followers; and, being discovered in his retreat, was led prisoner to London, where he, together with Wyatt, and seventy persons more, suffered by the hand of the executioner. Four hundred were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks; and, falling on their knees, received pardon, and were dismissed.

But what excited the compassion of the people most of all, was the execution of lady Jane Grey, and her husband, lord Guilford Dudley, who were involved in the punishment, though not in the guilt, of this insurrection. Two days after Wyatt was apprehended, lady Jane and her husband were ordered to prepare for death. Lady Jane, who had long before seen the threatened blow, was no way surprised at the message, but bore it with heroic resolution; and, being informed that she had three days to prepare, she seemed displeased at so long a delay. On the day of her execution, her husband desired permission to see her; but this she refused, as she knew the parting would be too tender for her fortitude to withstand. The place at first designed for their execution was without the Tower; but their youth, beauty, and innocence, being likely to raise an insurrection among the people, orders were given that they should be executed within the verge of that fortress. Lord Dudley was the first that suffered; and, while the lady Jane was proceeding to the place of execution, the officers of the Tower met her, bearing along the headless body of her husband streaming with blood, in order to be interred in the Tower chapel. She looked on the corpse for some time without any emotion; and then, with a sigh, desired them to proceed. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, as he led her to execution, desired her to be-

stow on him some small present, which he might keep as a perpetual memorial of her. She gave him her tablets, where she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body, one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in English, importing that human justice was against his body, but divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; and that God and posterity, she hoped, would do justice to them and their cause. On the scaffold she made a speech, in which she alleged that her offence was, not the having laid her hand upon the crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy; that she had less erred through ambition than filial obedience; that she willingly accepted death, as the only atonement she could make to the injured state; and was ready, by her punishment, to show that innocence is no plea in excuse for deeds that tend to injure the community. After speaking to this effect, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women, and with a steady serene countenance submitted to the executioner.

The enemies of the state being thus suppressed, the theatre was now opened for the pretended enemies of religion. The queen, being freed from apprehensions of an insurrection, began by assembling a parliament, which, upon this as upon most occasions, seemed only met to give countenance to her various severities. The nobles, whose only religion was that of the prince who governed, were easily gained over; and the house of commons had long been passive under all the variations of regal caprice. But a new enemy had started up against the reformers, in the person of the king, who, though he took all possible care to conceal his aversion, yet secretly influenced the queen, and inflamed all her proceedings. Philip had for some time been in England, and had used every endeavour to increase that share of power which had been allowed to him by

parliament, but without effect. The queen indeed, who loved him with a foolish fondness, that sat but ill on a person of her years and disagreeable person, endeavoured to please him by every concession she could make or procure; and, finding herself incapable of satisfying his ambition, she was not remiss in concurring with his zeal; so that heretics began to be persecuted with inquisitorial severity. The old sanguinary laws were now revived: orders were given that the bishops and priests who had married should be ejected; that the mass should be restored; that the pope's authority should be established; and that the church and its privileges, all but their goods and estates, should be put upon the same foundation on which they were before the commencement of the Reformation. As the gentry and nobles had already divided the church-lands among them, it was thought inconvenient, and indeed impossible, to make a restoration of these.

At the head of those who drove such measures forward, but not in an equal degree, were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal Pole, who had lately arrived in England from the continent. Pole, who was nearly allied by birth to the royal family, had always conscientiously adhered to the catholic religion, and had incurred Henry's displeasure, not only by refusing his assent to his measures, but by writing against him. It was for this adherence that he was cherished by the pope, and now sent over to England as legate from the holy see. Gardiner was a man of a very different character: his chief aim was to please the reigning prince, and he had shown already many instances of his prudent conformity. He now perceived that the king and queen were for rigorous measures; and he knew that it would be the best means of paying his court to them, even to outgo them in severity. Pole, who had never

varied in his principles, declared in favour of toleration; Gardiner, who had often changed, was for punishing those changes in others with the utmost rigour. However, he was too prudent to appear at the head of a persecution in person; he therefore consigned that odious office to Bonner, bishop of London, a cruel, brutal, and ignorant man.

This bloody scene began by the martyrdom A. D. of Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, 1555. prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commissioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them. It was expected that by their recantation they would bring those opinions into disrepute which they had so long inculcated: but the persecutors were deceived; they both continued steadfast in their belief; and they were accordingly condemned to be burned, Rogers in Smithfield, and Hooper in his own diocese at Gloucester. Rogers, beside the care of his own preservation, lay under very powerful temptations to deny his principles, and save his life; for he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children; but nothing could move his resolution. Such was his serenity after condemnation, that the jailors, we are told, waked him from a sound sleep upon the approach of the hour appointed for his execution. He desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that being a priest he could have no wife. When the faggots were placed around him, he seemed no way daunted at the preparation, but cried out, "I resign my life with joy, in testimony of the doctrine of Jesus!" When Hooper was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him with the queen's pardon upon it, in case he should recant; but he ordered it to be removed, and prepared cheerfully to suffer his sentence, which was executed in its full severity. The fire, either from ma-

lice or neglect, had not been sufficiently kindled ; so that his legs and thighs were first burned, and one of his hands dropped off, while with the other he continued to beat his breast. He was three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.

Sanders and Taylor, two other clergymen, whose zeal had been distinguished in carrying on the Reformation, were the next that suffered. Taylor was put into a pitch-barrel ; and, before the fire was kindled, a faggot from an unknown hand was thrown at his head, which made it stream with blood. Still, however, he continued undaunted, singing the thirty-first Psalm in English ; which one of the spectators observing, struck him a blow on the side of the head, and commanded him to pray in Latin. Taylor continued a few minutes silent, and with his eyes steadfastly fixed upward ; when one of the guards, either through impatience or compassion, struck him down with his halberd, and thus happily put an end to his torments.

The death of these only served to increase the savage appetite of the popish bishops and monks for fresh slaughter. Bonner, bloated at once with rage and luxury, let loose his vengeance without restraint, and seemed to take a pleasure in the pains of the unhappy sufferers ; while the queen, by her letters, exhorted him to pursue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley, bishop of London, and the venerable Latimer, bishop of Worcester, were condemned together. Ridley had been one of the ablest champions for the Reformation ; his piety, learning, and solidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him ; and

when he beheld them melted into tears, he himself appeared quite unmoved, inwardly supported and comforted in that hour of agony. When he was brought to the stake to be burnt, he found his old friend Latimer there before him. Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the most remarkable for his unaffected piety, and the simplicity of his manners. He had never learned to flatter in courts; and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the great, who at that time too much deserved it. His sermons, which remain to this day, show that he had some learning and much wit; and there is an air of sincerity running through them not to be found elsewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend, Latimer, on his part, was as ready to return the kind office. "Be of good cheer, brother," cried he, "we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." A furious bigot ascended to preach to them and the people while the fire was preparing; and Ridley gave a most serious attention to his discourse. No way distracted by the preparations about him, he heard him to the last, and then told him that he was ready to answer all that he had preached upon, if a short indulgence should be permitted: but this was refused him. At length fire was set to the pile: Latimer was soon out of pain; but Ridley continued to suffer much longer, his legs being continued before the fire reached his vitals.

One Thomas Haukes, when conducted to the stake, had agreed with his friends, that if he found the torture supportable, he would make them a signal for that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered was so strong, that when the spectators thought him near expiring, by stretching out his arms he gave his friends the signal that the pain was

not too great to be borne. This example, with many others of the like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to aspire after martyrdom.

But women seemed persecuted with as much severity even as men. A woman in Guernsey, condemned for heresy, was delivered of a child in the midst of the flames. Some of the spectators humanely ran to snatch the infant from danger; but the magistrate, who was a papist, ordered it to be flung in again: and there it was consumed with the mother.

Cranmer's death followed soon after, and struck the whole nation with horror. This prelate, whom we have seen acting so very conspicuous a part in the Reformation during the two preceding reigns, had been long detained a prisoner, in consequence of his imputed guilt in obstructing the queen's succession to the crown. But it was now resolved to bring him to punishment: and, to give it all its malignity, the queen ordered that he should be punished for heresy rather than for treason. He was accordingly cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was kept a prisoner at Oxford, yet, upon his not appearing, he was condemned as contumacious. But his enemies were not satisfied with his tortures, without adding to them the poignancy of self-accusation. Persons were, therefore, employed to tempt him by flattery and insinuation, by giving him hopes of once more being received into favour, to sign his recantation, by which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal supremacy and the real presence. His love of life prevailed. In an unguarded moment he was induced to sign this paper; and now his enemies, as we are told of the devil, after having rendered him completely wretched, resolved to destroy him. But it was determined, before they led him out to execution, that they should try to induce him to make a recantation

in the church before the people. The unfortunate prelate, either having a secret intimation of their design, or having recovered the native vigour of his mind, entered the church prepared to surprise the whole audience by a contrary declaration. When he had been placed in a conspicuous part of the church, a sermon was preached by Cole, provost of Eton, in which he magnified Cranmer's conversion as the immediate work of heaven itself. He assured the archbishop, that nothing could have been so pleasing to God, the queen, or the people; he comforted him, by intimating, that, if he should suffer, numberless dirges and masses should be said for his soul; and that his own confession of his faith would still more secure his soul from the pains of purgatory. During the whole rhapsody Cranmer expressed the utmost agony, anxiety, and internal agitation; he lifted up his eyes to heaven, he shed a torrent of tears, and groaned with unutterable anguish. He uttered a prayer; filled with the most pathetic expressions of horror and remorse. He then said he was well apprised of his duty to his sovereign; but that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to declare that he had signed a paper contrary to his conscience; that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error by a sincere and open recantation: he was willing, he said, to seal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven; and that, as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should undergo the first punishment. The assembly, consisting chiefly of papists, who hoped to triumph in the last words of such a convert, were equally confounded and incensed at this declaration. They called aloud to him to leave off dissembling; and led him forward, amidst the insults and reproaches of his audience, to the stake at which Latimer and Ridley

had suffered. He resolved to triumph over their insults by his constancy and fortitude; and, the fire beginning to be kindled round him, he stretched forth his right hand, and held it in the flames till it was consumed, while he frequently cried out in the midst of his sufferings, "That unworthy hand!" at the same time exhibiting no appearance of pain or disorder. When the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his tortures; his mind was occupied wholly upon the hopes of a future reward. After his body was destroyed, his heart was found entire: an emblem of the constancy with which he suffered.

A.D. These persecutions were now become odious 1556. to the whole nation; and, as it may be easily supposed, the perpetrators of them were all willing to throw the odium from themselves upon others. Philip, sensible of the hatred which he must incur upon this occasion, endeavoured to remove the reproach from himself by a very gross artifice. He ordered his confessor to deliver in his presence a sermon in favour of toleration; but Bonner, in his turn, would not take the whole of the blame, and retorted the severities upon the court. In fact, a bold step was taken to introduce a court similar to that of the Spanish inquisition, that should be empowered to try heretics, and condemn them without any other form of law than its own authority. But even this was thought a method too dilatory in the present exigency of affairs. A proclamation, issued against books of heresy, treason, and sedition, declared, that all persons who had such books in their possession, and did not burn them without reading, should be deemed rebels, and suffer accordingly. This, as might be expected, was attended with bloody effects: whole crowds were executed, till even at last the very magistrates, who had been instrumental in

these cruelties, refused to lend their assistance. It was computed that during this persecution, two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffered by fire, besides those punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty-five women, and four children.

All this was terrible ; and yet the temporal affairs of the kingdom did not seem to be more successful. From Philip's first arrival in England, the queen's pregnancy was talked of ; and her own extreme desire that it should be true, induced her to favour the report. When Pole, the pope's legate, was first introduced to her, she fancied the child stirred in her womb ; and this her flatterers compared to the leaping of John the Baptist in his mother's belly, at the salutation of the Virgin. The catholics were confident that she was pregnant ; they assured themselves that this child would be a son ; they were even confident that heaven would render him beautiful, vigorous, and witty. But it soon turned out that all their confidence was ill-founded ; for the queen's supposed pregnancy was only the beginning of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her.

This opinion of the queen's pregnancy was carefully kept up by Philip, as it was an artifice by which he hoped to extend his authority in the kingdom. But he was mistaken : the English parliament, however lax in their principles at that time, harboured a continued jealousy against him, and passed repeated acts by which they ascertained the limits of his power, and confirmed the authority of the queen. Ambition was his only ruling passion ; and the extreme fondness of the queen for his

person was rather permitted by him than desired. He only wanted to make her inclination subservient to the purposes of his power; but finding her unable to satisfy him in that hope, he no longer treated her with any return of affection, but behaved to her with apparent indifference and neglect: at length, tired with her importunities and jealousies, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, he took the first opportunity of leaving her, and went over to the emperor his father in Flanders. In the mean time the queen's passion increased in proportion to the coolness with which it was returned. She passed most of her time in solitude; she gave vent to her sorrows, either by tears, or by writing fond epistles to Philip, who, except when he wanted money, seldom returned her any answer. To supply his demands upon these occasions, she took several very extorting methods, by loans which were forced from many whom she thought most affectionate to her person, or best able to spare it. She offered the English merchants at Antwerp fourteen per cent. for a loan of thirty thousand pounds, and yet was mortified by a refusal; but she at length prevailed, when the corporation of London became surety for her.

She was more successful in her attempts to engage the English in a war with France, at the instigation of her husband, although in the end it turned out to her utter confusion. A war had just been commenced between Spain and that kingdom; and Philip, who took this occasion to come over to England, declared, that if he were not seconded by England at this crisis, he would never see the country more. This declaration greatly heightened the queen's zeal for promoting his interests; and though she was warmly opposed in this measure by cardinal Pole and the rest of her council,

yet, by threatening to dismiss them all, she at last succeeded. War was declared against France, and A. D. preparations were every where made for attack. 1557. ing that kingdom with vigour. An army was levied, to the amount of ten thousand men, who, when their wants had been supplied by various methods of extortion, were sent over into Flanders.

A battle gained by the Spaniards at St. Quintin seemed to promise great success to the allied arms; but soon an action performed by the duke of Guise, in the midst of winter, turned the scale in favour of France: and affected, if not the interests, at least the honour of England in the tenderest point. Calais had now for above two hundred years been in possession of the English; it had been made the chief market for wool, and other British commodities; it had been strongly fortified at different times, and was then deemed impregnable. But all the fortifications which were raised before gunpowder was found out, were very ill able to resist the attacks of a regular battery from cannon; and they only continued to enjoy an ancient reputation for strength which they were very ill able to maintain. Coligny, the French general, had remarked to the duke of Guise, that as the town of Calais was surrounded by marshes, which during winter were impassable, except over a dyke guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnham-Bridge, the English were of late accustomed, to save expense, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the approach of winter, and recall them in spring. The duke of Guise upon this made a sudden and unexpected march towards Calais, and assaulted the castle of St. Agatha with three thousand arquebusiers. The garrison were soon obliged to retreat to the other castle, and shortly after compelled to quit that post, and to take shelter in the city. Mean-

while a small fleet was sent to block up the entrance of the harbour ; and thus Calais was invested by land and sea. The governor, lord Wentworth, made a brave defence ; but his garrison, being very weak, could not effectually resist an assault given by the French, who made a lodgment in the castle. On the night following, Wentworth attempted to recover this post ; but having lost two hundred men in the attack, he was

A. D. obliged to capitulate : so that, in less than eight 1558. days, the duke of Guise recovered a city that had been in possession of the English since the time of Edward the Third, and which he had spent eleven months in besieging. This loss filled the whole kingdom with murmurs, and the queen with despair ; she was heard to say, that, when dead, the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart.

These complicated evils,—a murmuring people, an increasing heresy, a disdainful husband, and an unsuccessful war,—made dreadful depredations on Mary's constitution. She began to appear consumptive ; and this rendered her mind still more morose and bigoted. The people now therefore began to turn their thoughts to her successor ; and the princess Elizabeth came into a greater degree of consideration than before. During this whole reign the nation was in continual apprehensions with regard not only to the succession but the life of this princess. The violent hatred of the queen broke out upon every occasion ; while Elizabeth, conscious of her danger, passed her time wholly in reading and study, entirely detached from business. Proposals of marriage had been made to her by the Swedish ambassador, in his master's name ; but she referred him to the queen, who leaving it to her own choice, she had the magnanimity to reserve herself for better fortune. Nor was she less prudent in concealing her sentiments

of religion, and eluding all questions relative to that dangerous subject. She was obnoxious to Mary for two reasons: as she was next heir to the throne, it was feared she might aspire to it during her sister's life-time; but it was still more reasonably apprehended that she would, if ever she came to the crown, make an innovation in that religion which Mary took such pains to establish. The bishops, who had shed such a deluge of blood, foresaw this; and often told Mary that her destroying meaner heretics was of no advantage to the state, while the body of the tree was suffered to remain. Mary saw and acknowledged the cogency of their arguments, confined her sister with proper guards, and only waited for some fresh insurrection, or some favourable pretext, to destroy her. Her own death prevented the perpetration of her meditated cruelty.

Mary had been long in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she made use of an improper regimen, which had increased the disorder. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, whom she hated, and, above all, her anxiety for the loss of her husband, who never intended to return,—all these preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign Nov. 17, of five years four months and eleven days, 1558. in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, whose gentleness in power we have had occasion to mention, survived her but one day. She was buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel, according to the rites of the church of Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

ELIZABETH.

A.D. 1558—1572.

WERE we to adopt the maxim of the catholics, that evil may be done for the production of good, one might say that the persecutions in Mary's reign were permitted only to bring the kingdom more generally over to the protestant religion. Nothing could preach so effectually against the cruelty and vices of the monks as the actions of the monks themselves. Wherever heretics were to be burned, the monks were always present, rejoicing at the flames, insulting the fallen, and frequently the first to thrust the flaming brand against the faces of the sufferers. The English were effectually converted, by such sights as these, from their ancient superstitions. To bring the people over to any opinion, it is only necessary to persecute, instead of attempting to convince. The people had formerly been compelled to embrace the protestant religion, and their fears induced them to conform; but now almost the whole nation were protestants from inclination.

Nothing, therefore, could exceed the joy that was diffused among the people upon the accession of Elizabeth, who now came to the throne without any opposition. She was at Hatfield when informed of her sister's death; and, hastening to London, was received by the multitude with universal acclamations. Elizabeth had her education in that best school, the school of adversity; and she had made the proper use of her confinement. Being debarred the enjoyment of pleasures abroad, she sought for knowledge at home; she culti-

vated her understanding, learned the languages and sciences; but of all the arts which she acquired, that of concealing her opinions, that of checking her inclinations, of displeasing none, and of learning to reign, were the most beneficial to her.

This virgin monarch, as some historians have called her, upon entering the Tower according to custom, could not refrain from remarking on the difference of her present and her former fortune, when she was sent there as a prisoner. She had also been scarcely proclaimed queen, when Philip, who had been married to Mary, but who ever testified a partiality in favour of Elizabeth, ordered his ambassador in London, the duke of Feria, to make her proposals of marriage from his master. What political motives Elizabeth might have against this marriage, are not mentioned; but certain it is, that she neither liked the person nor the religion of her admirer. She was willing at once to enjoy the pleasures of independence, and the vanity of numerous solicitations. But while these were her views she returned him a very obliging though evasive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success, that he sent a messenger to Rome, with orders to solicit the dispensation.

Elizabeth had, from the beginning, resolved upon reforming the church, even while she was held in the constraints of a prison; and now, upon coming to the crown, she immediately set about it. But not to alarm the partisans of the catholic religion all at once, she retained eleven of her sister's council; and, in order to balance their authority, added eight more, who were known to be affectionate to the protestant religion. Her particular adviser, however, was sir William Cecil, secretary of state, a man more earnestly employed in the business than the speculations of the times, and

whose temper it was to wish for any religion that he thought would contribute to the welfare of the state. By his advice, therefore, she immediately recalled all exiles, and gave liberty to all prisoners who were confined on account of religion. She next published a proclamation, by which she forbade all preaching without a special licence. She also suspended the laws so far as to have a great part of the service to be read in A. D. English, and forbade the host to be elevated in 1559. her presence. A parliament soon after completed what the prerogative had begun; various acts were passed in favour of the Reformation; and in a single session the form of religion was established as we at present have the happiness to enjoy it.

The opposition which was made to these religious establishments, was furious, but feeble. A conference of nine doctors on each side was proposed and agreed to, in presence of the lord-keeper Bacon. They were to dispute publicly upon either side of the question; and it was resolved that the people should hold to that which came off with the victory. Disputations of this kind never carry conviction to either party; so much is to be said, and so wide is the field that both sides have to range in, that the strength of both is exhausted before the engagement may be properly said to begin. The conference therefore came to nothing; the catholics declared that it was not in their power to dispute a second time upon topics on which they had gained a former victory; while the protestants, on the other side, ascribed their caution to their fears.

Of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen, which was the number of those in the kingdom, only fourteen bishops, twelve deans, as many archdeacons, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, chose to quit their pre-

ferments rather than give up their religion. Thus England was seen to change its belief in religion four times since the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth. "Strange," says a foreign writer, "that a people so resolute should be guilty of so much inconstancy; that the same people who this day assisted at the execution of heretics should, the next, not only think them guiltless, but conform to their systems of thinking."

Elizabeth was now fixed upon a protestant throne, and had consequently all the catholic powers of Europe her open or secret enemies. France, Scotland, the pope, and even Spain itself, began to think of combining against her. Her subjects of Ireland were concealed enemies; and the catholic party, in England, though professing obedience, were yet ready to take advantage of her slightest misfortunes. These were the dangers she had to fear; nor had she formed a single alliance to assist her, nor possessed any foreign friends that she could safely rely on. In this situation she could hope for no other resource than what proceeded from the affection of her own subjects, her own insight into her affairs, and the wisdom of her administration. From the beginning of her reign, she seemed to aim at two very difficult attainments; to make herself loved by her subjects, and feared by her courtiers. She resolved to be frugal of her treasure, and still more sparing in her rewards to favourites. This at once kept the people in good humour, and the great too poor to shake off their dependence. She also showed that she knew how to distribute both rewards and punishments with impartiality; that she knew when to soothe, and when to upbraid; that she could dissemble submission, but preserve her prerogatives. In short, she seemed to have studied the people she was born to govern, and

even showed that she knew when to flatter their foibles to secure their affections.

Her chief minister was Robert Dudley, son to the late duke of Northumberland, whom she seemed to regard from capricious motives, as he was possessed neither of abilities nor virtue. But to make amends, the two favourites next in power were the lord-keeper Bacon and Cecil, men of great capacity and infinite application; they regulated the finances, and directed the political measures with foreign courts, that were afterwards followed with so much success.

A state of permanent felicity is not to be expected here; and Mary Stuart, commonly called Mary queen of Scots, was the first person that excited the fears or the resentment of Elizabeth. We have already mentioned, that Henry the Seventh married his eldest daughter, Margaret, to James the Fourth, king of Scotland, whose son and successor left no issue that came to maturity, except Mary. At a very early age, this princess, being possessed of every accomplishment of person and mind, was married to Francis the dauphin, afterwards king of France, who, dying, left her a widow at the age of eighteen. As Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by Henry the Eighth, Francis, in right of his wife, began to assume the title of king of England; nor did the queen of Scots, his consort, seem to decline sharing this empty appellation. But though nothing could have been more unjust than such a claim, or more unlikely to succeed, Elizabeth, knowing that such pretensions might produce troubles in England, sent an ambassador to France, complaining of the behaviour of that court in this instance. Francis, however, was not upon such good terms with Elizabeth, as to forego any claims that would distress her; and her ambassador was

sent home without satisfaction. Upon the death A. D. of Francis, Mary, the widow, still seemed disposed to keep up the title; but finding herself exposed to the persecutions of the dowager queen, who now began to take the lead in France, she determined to return to Scotland, and demanded a safe passage from Elizabeth through England. But it was now Elizabeth's turn to refuse; and she sent back a very haughty answer to Mary's request. From this time A. D. determined personal enmity began to prevail between the rival queens, which subsisted for many years after, until at last the superior fortune of Elizabeth prevailed.

As the transactions of this unfortunate queen make a distinguished part in Elizabeth's history, it will be necessary to give them greater room than I have hitherto given to the occurrences of Scotland. The Reformation in England having taken place, in Scotland also that work was begun, but with circumstances of greater animosity against the ancient superstition. The mutual resentment of the two parties in that kingdom knew no bounds; and a civil war was likely to end the dispute. It was in this divided state of the people that Elizabeth, by giving encouragement to the reformers, gained their affections from their natural queen, who was a catholic, and who consequently favoured those of that persuasion. Thus religion at last effected a sincere friendship between the English and Scots, which neither treaties nor marriages, nor the vicinity of situation, were able to produce. The reformers, to a man, considered Elizabeth as their patroness and defender, and Mary as their persecutor and enemy.

It was in this state of affairs that Mary returned from France to reign in Scotland, entirely attached to the customs and manners of the people she had left, and

consequently very averse to the gloomy severity which her reformed subjects affected, and which they fancied made a proper ingredient in religion. A difference in religion between the sovereign and the people, is ever productive of bad effects, since it is apt to produce contempt on one side, and jealousy on the other. Mary could not avoid regarding the sour manners of the reformed clergy, who now bore sway among the people, with a mixture of ridicule and hatred: while they, on the other hand, could not look tamely on the gaieties and levities which she introduced among them, without abhorrence and resentment. The jealousy thus excited, began every day to grow stronger; the clergy only waited for some indiscretion in the queen, to fly out into open opposition; and her indiscretion too soon gave them sufficient opportunity.

After two years had been spent in altercation and reproach between Mary and her subjects, it was resolved at last by her council, that she should look out for some alliance, by which she might be sheltered and pro-

A. D. 1564. tected against the insolence and misguided zeal of her spiritual instructors. After some deliberation, the lord Darnley, son to the earl of Lenox, was the person in whom their opinions and wishes centred. He had been born and educated in England, was now in his twentieth year, was cousin-german to the queen; and, what perhaps she might admire still more, he was extremely tall. Elizabeth was secretly no way averse to this marriage, as it freed her from the dread of a foreign alliance; but when informed that it was actually concluded and consummated, she pretended to testify the utmost displeasure: she menaced, complained, protested; seized the English estate of the earl of Lenox, and threw the countess and her second son into the Tower. This duplicity of conduct was com-

mon enough with Elizabeth ; and, on the present occasion, it served her as a pretext for refusing to acknowledge Mary's title to the succession of England, which that princess had frequently urged, but in vain.

Notwithstanding Elizabeth's complaints and resentment, Mary resolved to indulge her own inclinations ; and, struck with the beauty of Darnley's figure, the match was driven forward with all expedition. Some of the first weeks of their connection seemed to promise a happy union for the rest of their lives. However, it was not without some opposition from the reformers that this marriage was completed. It was agitated, whether the queen could marry without the consent of the people. Some lords rose up in arms to prevent it ; but, being pursued by a superior force, they found themselves obliged to abandon their country and take refuge in England. Thus far all was favourable to Mary ; and thus far she kept within the bounds of strict virtue. Her enemies were banished, her rival overruled, and A. D. she herself married to the man she loved. 1565.

While Mary had been dazzled by the pleasing exterior of her new lover, she had entirely forgotten to examine his mental accomplishments. Darnley was a weak and ignorant man ; violent, yet variable in his enterprises ; insolent, yet credulous, and easily governed by flatterers ; devoid of all gratitude, because he thought no favours equal to his merit ; and, being addicted to low pleasures, he was equally incapable of all true sentiments of love and tenderness. Mary, in the first effusions of her fondness, had taken a pleasure in exalting him beyond measure : but, having leisure afterwards to remark his weakness and his vices, she began to convert her admiration into disgust ; and Darnley, enraged at her increasing coldness, pointed his vengeance against

injuries so atrocious and so complicated, that they scarcely left room for pardon.

This act of violence was only to be punished by temporising; she pretended to forgive so great a crime; and exerted the force of her natural allurements so powerfully, that her husband submitted implicitly to her will. He soon gave up his accomplices to her resentment, and retired with her to Dunbar; while she, having collected an army, which the conspirators had no power to resist, advanced to Edinburgh, and obliged them to fly into England, where they lived in great poverty and distress. They made application, however, to the earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of Mary's, and that nobleman, desirous of strengthening his party by the accession of their interest, was able to pacify her resentment; and he soon after procured them liberty to return home.

The vengeance of the queen was implacable to her husband alone; his person was before disagreeable to her; and, having persuaded him to give up his accomplices, she treated him with merited disdain and indignation. But it would have been well for her character and happiness had she rested only in despising:—she secretly resolved on a severer revenge. The earl of Bothwell, who was now become her favourite, was of a considerable family in Scotland; and though not distinguished by any talents, civil or military, yet he made some noise in the dissensions of the state, and was an opposer of the Reformation. He was a man of profligate manners, had involved his fortune in great debts, and had reduced himself to beggary by his profusion. This nobleman, notwithstanding, had ingratiated himself so far with the queen, that all her measures were entirely directed by his advice and authority. Reports were even spread of more particular intimacies; and

these gave such uneasiness to Darnley, that he left the court, and retired to Glasgow, to be no longer spectator of her supposed excesses. But this was not what the queen aimed at; she was determined upon more ample punishment. Shortly after, all those who wished well to her character, or repose to their country, were extremely pleased, and somewhat surprised, to A. D. hear that her tenderness for her husband was 1567. revived, and that she had taken a journey to visit him during his sickness. Darnley was so far allured by her behaviour on this occasion, that he resolved to part with her no more; he put himself under her protection, and soon after attended her to Edinburgh, which, it was thought, would be a place more favourable to his declining health. She lived in Holyrood-house; but, as the situation of that place was low, and the concourse of persons about the court necessarily attended with noise, which might disturb him in his present infirm state, she fitted up an apartment for him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary there gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room under him. It was on the ninth of February that she told him she would pass the night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was to be there celebrated in her presence. But dreadful consequences ensued. About two o'clock in the morning the whole city was much alarmed at hearing a great noise; the house in which Darnley lay was blown up with gun-powder. His dead body was found at some distance in a neighbouring field, but without any marks of violence or contusion. No doubt could be entertained that Darnley was murdered; and the general suspicion fell upon Bothwell as the perpetrator.

All orders of the state, and the whole body of the

people, began to demand justice on the supposed murderer; the queen herself was not entirely exempt from the general suspicion; and papers were privately stuck up every where, accusing her of being an accomplice. Mary, more solicitous to punish others than defend herself, offered rewards for the discovery of those who had spread such reports; but no rewards were offered for the discovery of the murderers. One indiscretion led to another; Bothwell, though accused of being stained with her husband's blood, though universally odious to the people, had the confidence, while Mary was on her way to Stirling on a visit to her son, to seize her at the head of a body of eight hundred horse, and to carry her to Dunbar, where he forced her to yield to his purposes. It was then thought by the people that the measure of his crimes was complete; and that he who was supposed to have murdered the queen's husband, and to have offered violence to her person, could expect no mercy; but they were astonished upon finding, instead of disgrace, that Bothwell was taken into more than former favour; and, to crown all, that he was married to the queen, having divorced his own wife to procure this union.

This was a fatal alliance to Mary; and the people were now wound up by the complication of her follies; to pay very little deference to her authority. The protestant teachers, who had great power, had long borne great animosity towards her; the opinion of her guilt was by their means more widely diffused, and made the deeper impression. The principal nobility met at Stirling; and an association was soon formed for protecting the young prince, and punishing the king's murderers. Lord Hume was the first in arms; and, with a body of eight hundred horse, he suddenly surrounded the queen and Bothwell in the castle of Borthwick. They found

means, however, to make their escape; and Bothwell, at the head of a few forces, meeting the associators within about six miles of Edinburgh, was obliged to capitulate, while Mary was conducted by the prevailing party into Edinburgh, amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace. Thence she was sent a prisoner to the castle of Lochleven, situated in a lake of that name, where she suffered all the severities of an unkind keeper, and an upbraiding conscience, with a feeling heart. Bothwell was more fortunate; he fled, during the conference, unattended, to Dunbar; and fitting out a few small ships in that port, he subsisted among the Orkneys for some time by piracy. Being pursued thither, and his domestics taken, who made a full discovery of his crimes, he escaped in an open boat to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably about ten years afterwards.

In this situation, Mary was not entirely without protection and friends. Elizabeth, who now saw her rival entirely humbled, began to relent; she reflected on the precarious state of royal grandeur, and the danger of encouraging rebellious subjects; she therefore sent sir Nicholas Throgmorton as her ambassador to Scotland, to interpose in the queen's behalf; but the associated lords thought proper to deny him, after several affected delays, all access to Mary's person. However, though he could not confer with her, he procured her the best terms with the rebellious lords that he could; which were, that she should resign the crown in favour of her infant son; that she should nominate the earl of Murray (who had from the beginning testified a hatred to lord Darnley) regent of the kingdom; and, as he was then in France, that she should appoint a council till his arrival. Mary could not think of resigning all power, without a plentiful effusion of tears; but at last signed what was

brought to her, even without inspection. In consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king, under the title of James the Sixth. The queen had now no hopes but from the kindness of the earl of Murray; but even in that respect she was disappointed: the earl, upon his return, instead of comforting her, loaded her with reproaches, which reduced her almost to despair.

A.D. The calamities of the great, even though 1568. deserved, seldom fail of creating pity, and procuring friends. Mary, by her charms and promises, had engaged a young gentleman, whose name was George Douglas, to assist her in escaping from the place where she was confined: and this he effected, by conveying her in disguise in a small boat, rowed by himself, ashore. It was now that, the news of her enlargement being spread abroad, all the loyalty of the people seemed to revive. As Bothwell was no longer associated in her cause, many of the nobility, who expected to succeed him in favour, signed a bond of association for her defence; and in a few days she saw herself at the head of six thousand men.

The earl of Murray was not slow in assembling his forces; and although his army was inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he boldly took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which was decisive in his favour; and he seemed to merit victory by his clemency after the action. Mary, now totally ruined, fled to the southward from the field of battle with great precipitation, and came with a few attendants to the borders of England, where she hoped for protection from Elizabeth. With this hope she embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington in Cumberland, about thirty miles distant from Carlisle, whence she

immediately dispatched a messenger to London, craving protection, and desiring liberty to visit the queen. Elizabeth, being informed of her misfortunes and retreat, deliberated for some time upon the proper methods of proceeding, and resolved at last to act in a friendly yet cautious manner. She immediately sent orders to lady Scrope (sister to the duke of Norfolk), who lived in that neighbourhood, to attend on the queen of Scots; and soon after dispatched lord Scrope himself, and sir Francis Knolles, to pay her all possible respect. Notwithstanding these marks of distinction, the queen refused to admit Mary into her presence, until she had cleared her character from the many foul aspersions with which it was stained. It might, perhaps, have been Elizabeth's duty to protect, and not to examine, her royal fugitive. However, she acted entirely under the direction of her council, who observed, that if the crimes of the Scottish princess were really so great as they were represented, the treating her with friendship would but give them a sanction; if she should be found guiltless upon trial, every enterprise which friendship should inspire in her defence, would be considered as laudable and glorious.

Mary was now, though reluctantly, obliged to admit her ancient rival as an umpire in her cause; and the accusation was readily undertaken by Murray the regent, who expected to remove so powerful an assistant as Elizabeth, by the atrociousness of Mary's offences. This extraordinary conference, respecting the conduct of a foreign queen, was managed at York; three commissioners being appointed by Elizabeth, seven by the queen of Scots, and five by the regent, among whom he himself was included. These conferences were carried on for some time at the place first appointed; but, after a while, Elizabeth, either unwilling to decide, as

she would thus give up the power she was now possessed of, or perhaps desirous of throwing all possible light upon Mary's conduct, ordered the commissioners to continue their conferences at Hampton-court, where they were spun out by affected delays. Whatever might have been the cause of protracting this conference in the beginning, is not known ; but many of the proofs of Mary's guilt, which were suppressed at York, made their appearance before the board at Hampton-court. Among other proofs, were many letters and sonnets written in Mary's own hand to Bothwell, in which she discovers her knowledge of Darnley's intended murder, and her contrivance to marry Bothwell, by pretending a forced compliance. These papers, it must be owned, are not free from the suspicion of forgery ; yet the reasons for their authenticity seem to prevail. However this be, the proofs of Mary's guilt appearing stronger, it was thought proper to engage her advocates to give answers to them ; but they, contrary to expectation, refused, alleging that, as Mary was a sovereign princess, she could not be subject to any tribunal ; not considering that the aim of this conference was not punishment, but reconciliation ; that it was not to try Mary in order to inflict penalties, but to know whether she was worthy of Elizabeth's friendship and protection. Instead of attempting to justify her conduct, the queen of Scots laboured nothing so much as to obtain an interview with Elizabeth, conscious that her insinuations, arts, and address, of all which she was a perfect mistress, would be sufficient to persuade her royal sister, and stand in place of innocence. But as she still persisted in a resolution to make no defence, this demand was finally refused her. She continued, however, to demand Elizabeth's protection ; she desired that either she might be assisted in her endeavours to recover her authority,

or that liberty should be given her for retiring into France, there to make trial of the friendship of other princes. But Elizabeth, sensible of the danger which attended either of these proposals, was secretly resolved to detain her in captivity ; and she was accordingly sent to Tutbury castle, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury : there she gave her royal prisoner hopes of one day coming into favour ; and that, unless her own obstinacy prevented, an accommodation might at last take place.

But this unhappy woman was fated to nothing but misfortunes ; and those hopes of accommodation which she had been taught to expect were still put off by some sinister accident. The factions of her own subjects in Scotland tended not a little to alarm the jealousy of Elizabeth, and increase the rigours of Mary's confinement. The regent of Scotland, who had been long her inveterate enemy, happening to be assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton, upon his death the kingdom relapsed into its former anarchy. Mary's party once more assembled, and became masters of Edinburgh. They even ventured to approach the borders of England, where they committed some disorders, which called upon the vigilance of Elizabeth to suppress. She quickly sent an army commanded by the earl of Sussex ; who, entering Scotland, severely chastised the partisans of the captive queen, under a pretence that they had offended his mistress by harbouring English rebels.

But the designs and arts of Elizabeth did not rest here : while she kept up the most friendly correspondence with Mary, and the most warm protestations of sincerity passed between them, she was far from either assisting her cause, or yet from rendering it desperate. It was her interest to keep the factions in Scotland still

alive, to restrain the power of that restless and troublesome nation : for this purpose she weakened the reviving party of the queen by tedious negotiations and other arts, and in the mean time procured the earl of Lenox to be appointed regent, in the room of Murray.

This attempt, which promised to be favourable to Mary, proved thus unsuccessful, as well as another, which was concerted near the place of her captivity. The duke of Norfolk was the only peer who enjoyed that highest title of nobility in England ; and the qualities of his mind corresponded to his high station. Beneficent, affable, and generous, he had acquired the affections of the people ; and yet, from his moderation, he had never alarmed the jealousy of his sovereign. He was at this time a widower ; and being of a suitable age to espouse the queen of Scots, her own attractions, as well as his interests, made him desirous of the match. But the obtaining Elizabeth's consent, previous to their nuptials, was considered as a circumstance essential to his aims. While he made almost all the nobility of England confidants to his passion, he never had the prudence, or the courage, to open his full intentions to the queen herself. On the contrary, in order to suppress the surmises that were currently reported, he spoke contemptuously of Mary to Elizabeth ; affirmed that his estates in England were of more value than the revenue of the whole kingdom ; and declared that, when he amused himself in his own tennis-court at Norwich, he was a more magnificent prince than a Scottish king. This duplicity only served to inflame the queen's suspicions ; and, finding that she gave his professions no great degree of credit, he retired from the court in disgust. Repenting, however, soon after this measure, he A.D. resolved to return, with a view of regaining the 1569. queen's good graces ; but on the way he was

stopped by a messenger from the queen, and soon committed to the Tower, under the custody of sir Henry Nevil.

But the duke of Norfolk was too much beloved by his partisans in the north, to be confined without an effort made for his release. The earls of Westmorland and Northumberland had prepared measures for a rebellion; had communicated their intentions to Mary and her ministers; had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, governor of the Low-Countries, and had obtained his promise of men and ammunition. But the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers was not to be eluded: orders were immediately sent for their appearance at court; and now the insurgent lords, perceiving their schemes discovered, were obliged to begin their revolt before matters were entirely prepared for its opening. They accordingly published a manifesto, in which they alleged that no injury was intended against the queen, to whom they vowed unshaken allegiance; but that their sole aim was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to remove all evil counsellors from about the queen's person, and to restore the duke of Norfolk to his liberty and the queen's favour. Their number amounted to four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; and they expected to be joined by all the catholics in England. But they soon found themselves miserably undeceived; the queen's conduct had acquired the general good-will of the people, and she now perceived that her surest support was the justice of her actions. The duke of Norfolk himself, for whose sake they had revolted, used every method that his circumstances would permit, to assist and support the queen; the insurgents were obliged to retire before her forces to Hexham; and, hearing that reinforcements were upon their march to join the royal army, they

found no other expedient but to disperse themselves without a blow. Northumberland fled into Scotland, and was confined by the regent in the castle of Lochleven: Westmorland, after attempting to excite the Scots to revolt, was obliged to escape into Flanders, where he found protection. This rebellion was followed by another, led on by Leonard Dacres, but with as little success. Some severities were used against these revolters; and it is said that no less than eight hundred persons suffered by the hands of the executioner on this occasion. The queen was so well pleased

A. D. with the duke's behaviour, that she now released him from the Tower, and allowed him to return home, only exacting a promise from him, not to proceed in his pretensions to the queen of Scots.

But the queen's confidence was fatal to this brave but undesigning nobleman. He had scarcely been released a year, when new projects were set on foot by the enemies of the queen and the reformed religion, secretly fomented by Rodolphi, an instrument of the court of Rome, and the bishop of Ross, Mary's minister in England. It was concerted by them that Norfolk should renew his designs upon Mary, to which it was probable he was prompted by passion; and this nobleman entering into their schemes, he, from being at first only ambitious, now became criminal. It was mutually

A. D. agreed, therefore, that the duke should enter 1571. into all Mary's interests; while on the other hand, the duke of Alva promised to transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, to join Norfolk as soon as he should be ready to begin. This scheme was so secretly laid, that it had hitherto entirely escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth, and that of her secretary Cecil, who now bore the title of lord Burleigh. It was found out merely by accident; for the duke,

having sent a sum of money to lord Herries, one of Mary's partisans in Scotland, omitted trusting the servant with the contents of his message; and he finding, by the weight of the bag, that it contained a larger sum than the duke mentioned to him, began to mistrust some plot, and brought the money with the duke's letter, to the secretary of state. It was by the artifices of that great statesman that the duke's servants were brought to make a full confession of their master's guilt; and the bishop of Ross soon after, finding the whole discovered, did not scruple to confirm their testimony. The duke was instantly committed to the Tower, and ordered to prepare for his trial. A jury of twenty- A. D. five peers unanimously passed sentence upon 1572. him; and the queen, four months after, reluctantly signed the warrant for his execution. He died with great calmness and constancy; and though he cleared himself of any disloyal intentions against the queen's authority, he acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. A few months after, the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up by the regent, underwent a similar trial, and was brought to the scaffold for his rebellion. All these ineffectual struggles in favour of the unfortunate queen of Scots seemed only to rivet the chains of her confinement; and she now found relief only in the resources of her own mind, which distress had contributed to soften, refine, and improve. Henceforth she continued for many years a precarious dependent on Elizabeth's suspicions; and only waited for some new effort of her adherents, to receive that fate which political and not merciful motives seemed to suspend.

CHAPTER V.

ELIZABETH. (CONTINUED.)

A. D. 1572—1603.

HAVING thus far attended the queen of Scotland, whose conduct and misfortunes make such a distinguished figure in this reign, we now return to some transactions, prior in point of time, but of less consideration.

In the beginning of this reign, the Huguenots, or reformed party in France, were obliged to call in the protection of the English; and, in order to secure their confidence, as they were possessed of the greatest part of Normandy, they offered (in 1562) to put Havre de Grace into the queen's hands; a proffer which she immediately accepted. She wisely considered, that, as that port commanded the mouth of the river Seine, it was of much greater importance than Calais; and she could thus have the French still in her power. Accordingly three thousand English took possession of Havre, under the command of sir Adrian Poinings; and an equal number landed at Dieppe. The latter place was found so little capable of defence, that it was soon abandoned: but Havre was retained until the summer of the following year. It was fiercely assaulted by the French: but it felt a severer enemy within its walls; for the plague had made its way into the town, and committed such havoc among the soldiers, that a hundred were commonly seen to die of it in one day. The garrison being thus dispirited, and diminished to fifteen hundred men, finding the French indefatigable in their approaches, were obliged to capitulate; and thus the English lost all hopes of making another establishment

in the kingdom of France. This misfortune was productive of one still more dreadful to the nation; for the English army carried back the plague with them to London, which made such ravages, that twenty thousand persons died there in one year.

This, if we except the troubles raised upon the account of Mary, seems to have been the only disaster that, for thirty years, contributed to disturb the peace of this reign. Elizabeth, ever vigilant, active, and resolute, attended to the slightest alarms, and repressed them before they were capable of producing their effect. Her frugality kept her independent, and her dissimulation made her beloved. The opinion of the royal prerogative was such, that her commands were obeyed as statutes; and she took care that her parliament should never venture to circumscribe her power. In her schemes of government she was assisted by lord Burleigh, and sir Nicholas Bacon, two of the most able ministers that ever directed the affairs of England; but while she committed to them all the drudgery of duty, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, engrossed all her favour, and secured all the avenues to preferment. All requests were made through him; and nothing given away without his consent and approbation. His merits, however, were by no means adequate to his successes; he was weak, vain, and boastful; but these qualities did no injury to the state, as his two co-adjutors were willing, while he maintained all the splendour of office, to secure to themselves the more solid emoluments.

During this peaceable and uniform government, England furnishes few materials for history. While France was torn with internal convulsions; while above ten thousand of the Huguenots were massacred in one night, in cool blood, on the feast of St. Bartholomew,

at Paris; while the inhabitants of the Low-Countries had shaken off the Spanish yoke, and were bravely vindicating their rights and their religion; while all the rest of Europe were teeming with plots, seditions, and cruelty; the English, under their wise queen, were enjoying all the benefits of peace, extending commerce, improving manufactures, and setting an example of arts and learning to all the rest of the world. Except the small part, therefore, which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

There had for some time arisen disgusts between the court of England and that of Spain. Elizabeth's rejection of the suit of Philip might probably have given rise to these disgusts; and Mary's claiming the protection of that monarch tended to widen the breach. This began, as usual, on each side, with petty hostilities: the Spaniards, on their part, had sent into Ireland a body of seven hundred of their nation and Italians, who built a fort there; but were soon after cut off to a man, by lord Grey. On the other hand, the English, under the conduct of sir Francis Drake, assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure—in the New World. This was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe; and the queen was so well pleased with his valour and success, that she accepted a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had achieved so memorable a voyage.

In this manner, while hostilities were daily multiplying between Spain and England, and while the power of Spain, and the monarch's inclinations were very formidable to the queen, she began to look out for an alliance that might support her against such a dangerous adversary. The duke of Anjou had long made pretensions to Elizabeth; and though she was near twenty-

five years older than that prince, he took the resolution to prefer his suit in person, and paid her a visit in secret at Greenwich. It appears that, though his figure was not advantageous, his address was pleasing. The queen ordered her ministers to fix the terms of the contract; a day was appointed for the solemnization of the nuptials, and every thing seemed to speak an approaching union. But Elizabeth could not be induced, as that event appeared to approach, to change her condition; she was doubtful, irresolute, and melancholy; she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep, till at last her settled habits of prudence prevailed over her ambition, and the duke of Anjou was dismissed.

The queen, thus depriving herself of a foreign ally, looked for approbation and assistance from her own subjects at home. Yet even here she was not without numberless enemies, who either hated her for religion, or envied her for success. There were several conspiracies formed against her life, many of which were imputed to the intrigues of the queen of Scots: at least it is certain that her name was used in all. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, brother to the peer who had been beheaded some years before, and Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, son of the unfortunate duke of Norfolk, fell under suspicion; and the latter was, by order of council, confined to his own house. Francis Throgmorton, a private gentleman, was committed to custody, on account of a letter which he had written to the queen of Scots; and shortly after confessing his guilt, he was condemned and executed. Soon after, William Parry, a catholic gentleman, who had on a former occasion received the queen's pardon, was found engaged in a desperate conspiracy to assassinate his sovereign and benefactor. He had consulted upon the justice and expediency of this vile measure both with the pope's

nuncio and legate, who exhorted him to persevere in his resolution, and extremely applauded his design. He therefore associated himself with one Nevil, who entered zealously into the design; and it was determined to shoot the queen, while she was taking the air on horseback. But while they were watching an opportunity for the execution of their purpose, the earl of Westmorland happened to die in exile; and as Nevil was next heir to the family, he began to entertain hopes, that, by doing some acceptable service to the queen, he might recover the estate and honours which had been forfeited by the rebellion of the last earl. He betrayed the whole conspiracy to the ministers; and Parry, being thrown into prison, confessed the guilt both to them, and to the jury who tried him. He was shortly after condemned and executed.

These attempts, which were entirely set on foot by the catholic party, served to increase the severity of the laws against them. Popish priests were banished; those who harboured or relieved them were declared guilty of felony; and many were executed in consequence of this severe edict. Nor was the queen of Scots herself without some share of the punishment. She was removed from the care of the earl of Shrewbury, who had always been indulgent to his prisoner, particularly with regard to air and exercise; and she was committed to the custody of sir Amias Paulet, and sir Drue Drury, men of honour, but inflexible and rigid in their care and attention.

These conspiracies served to prepare the way for Mary's ruin, whose greatest misfortunes proceeded rather from the violence of her friends than the malignity
A. D. of her enemies. Elizabeth's ministers had long
1586. been waiting for some signal instance of the captive queen's enmity, which they could easily convert into

treason; and this was not long wanting. John Ballard, a popish priest, who had been bred in the English seminary at Rheims, resolved to compass the death of a queen whom he considered as the enemy of his religion; and, with that gloomy resolution, he came over into England in the disguise of a soldier, with the assumed name of captain Fortescue. He bent his endeavours to bring about at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion. The first person he addressed himself to was Anthony Babington, of Dethick, in the county of Derby, a young gentleman of good family, and possessed of a very plentiful fortune. This person had been long remarkable for his zeal in the catholic cause, and his attachment to the captive queen. He, therefore, came readily into the plot, and procured the concurrence and assistance of some other associates in this dangerous undertaking; Barnwell, a person of a noble family in Ireland; Charnock, a gentleman of Lancashire; Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the household; and, chief of all, John Savage, a man of desperate fortune, who had served in the Low-Countries, and came into England under a vow to destroy the queen. He indeed did not seem to desire any associate in the bold enterprise, and refused for some time to permit any to share with him in what he esteemed his greatest glory. He challenged the whole to himself; and it was with some difficulty that he was induced to depart from his preposterous ambition. The next step was to apprise Mary of the conspiracy formed in her favour; and this they effected by conveying their letters to her (by means of a brewer that supplied the family with ale) through a chink in the wall of her apartment. In these, Babington informed her of a design laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her deliverance, and the

conspiracy for assassinating the usurper, by six noble gentlemen, as he termed them, all of them his private friends, who, from the zeal which they bore to the catholic cause and her majesty's service, would undertake the tragical execution. To these Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, previous to any farther attempts either for her deliverance or the intended insurrection.

Such was the scheme laid by the conspirators; and nothing seemed so certain as its secrecy and its success. But they were all miserably deceived; the active and sagacious ministers of Elizabeth were privy to it in every stage of its growth, and only retarded their discovery till the meditated guilt was ripe for punishment and conviction. Ballard was actually attended by one Maude, a catholic priest, who was a spy in pay with Walsingham, secretary of state. One Polly, another of his spies, had found means to insinuate himself among the conspirators, and to give an exact account of their proceedings. Soon after, one Giffard, a priest, came over, and, discovering the whole conspiracy to the bottom, made a tender of his service to Walsingham. It was he that procured the letters to be conveyed through the wall to the queen, and received her answers; but he had always taken care to show them to the secretary of state, who had them deciphered, and took copies of them all.

The plot being thus ripe for execution, and the evidence against the conspirators incontestable, Walsingham resolved to suspend their punishment no longer. A warrant was accordingly issued out for the apprehending of Ballard; and this giving the alarm to Babington;

and the rest of the conspirators, they covered themselves with various disguises, and endeavoured to keep themselves concealed. But they were soon discovered, thrown into prison, and brought to trial. In their examination, they contradicted each other; and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed, seven of whom died acknowledging their crime.

The execution of these wretched men only prepared the way for one of still greater importance, in which a captive queen was to submit to the unjust decisions of those who had no right, but that of power, to condemn her. Though all England was acquainted with the detection of Babington's conspiracy, every avenue to the unfortunate Mary was so strictly guarded, that she remained in utter ignorance of the whole matter. But her astonishment was equal to her anguish, when sir Thomas Gorges, by Elizabeth's order, came to inform her of the fate of her unhappy confederates. She was at that time mounted on horseback, going to hunt; and was not permitted to return to her former place of abode, but conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she was lodged in Fotheringay castle, in Northamptonshire, where the last scene of her miserable tragedy was to be performed.

The council of England was divided in opinion about the measures to be taken against the queen of Scots. Some members proposed, that, as her health was very infirm, her life might be shortened by close confinement; and the earl of Leicester advised that she should be dispatched by poison; but the majority insisted on her being put to death by legal process. Accordingly a commission was issued for forty-one peers, with five judges, or the major part of them, to try and pass sentence upon Mary, daughter and heir of James the

Fifth, king of Scotland, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France.

Thirty-six of these commissioners, arriving at the castle of Fotheringay, presented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to submit to a trial for her late conspiracy. Mary perused the letter with great composure, and, as she had long foreseen the danger that hung over her, received the intelligence without emotion or astonishment. She said, however, that she wondered the queen of England should command her as a subject, who was an independent sovereign, and a queen like herself. She would never, she said, stoop to any condescension which would lessen her dignity, or prejudice the claims of her posterity. The laws of England, she observed, were unknown to her; she was destitute of counsel; nor could she conceive who were to be her peers, as she had but one equal in the kingdom. She added, that, instead of enjoying the protection of the laws of England, which she had hoped to obtain, she had been confined in prison ever since her arrival in the kingdom; so that she derived neither benefit nor security from them. When the commissioners pressed her to submit to the queen's pleasure, otherwise they would proceed against her as contumacious, she declared she would rather suffer a thousand deaths than own herself a subject to any prince on earth: that, however, she was ready to vindicate herself in a full and free parliament; as, for aught she knew, this meeting was devised against her life, on purpose to take it away with a pretext of justice. She exhorted them to consult their own consciences, and to remember that the theatre of the world was much more extensive than that of the kingdom of England. At length the vice-chamberlain Hatton vanquished her objections, by representing that she injured her reputation by avoiding a trial, in which her

innocence might be proved to the satisfaction of all mankind. This observation made such an impression upon her, that she agreed to plead, if they would admit and allow her protest, of disallowing all subjection. This, however, they refused ; but they satisfied her, by entering it upon record ; and thus they proceeded to a trial.

The principal charge against her was urged Oct. 14, by serjeant Gaudy, who accused her of knowing, approving, and consenting to, Babington's conspiracy. This charge was supported by Babington's confession ; by the copies which were taken of their correspondence, in which her approbation of the queen's murder was expressly declared ; by the evidence of her own secretaries, Nau a Frenchman, and Curle a Scotchman, who swore that she received the letters of that conspirator, and that they had answered them by her orders. These allegations were corroborated by the testimony of Ballard and Savage, to whom Babington had shown some letters, declaring them to have come from the captive queen. To these charges Mary made a sensible and resolute defence ; she said, Babington's confession was produced by his fears of the torture ; which was really the case ; she alleged that the letters were forgeries ; and she defied her secretaries to persist in their evidence, if brought into her presence. She owned, indeed, that she had used her best endeavours to recover her liberty, which was only pursuing the dictates of nature ; but as for harbouring a thought against the life of the queen, she treated the idea with horror. In a letter which was read during the trial, mention was made of the earl of Arundel and his brothers. On hearing their names, she shed a flood of tears, exclaiming, " Alas ! what hath the noble house of Howard endured for my sake !" She took occasion also to observe,

that this letter might have been a base contrivance of Walsingham, who had frequently practised both against her life and that of her son. Walsingham, thus accused, rose up, and protested that his heart was free from malice; that he had never done any thing unbecoming an honest man in his private capacity, nor aught unworthy of the place he occupied in the state. Mary declared herself satisfied of his innocence, and begged he would give as little credit to the malicious accusations of her enemies, as she now gave to the reports which she had heard to his prejudice.

Whatever might have been this queen's offences, it is certain that her treatment was very severe. She desired to be put in possession of such notes as she had taken preparative to her trial; but this was refused her. She demanded a copy of her protest; but her request was not complied with: she even required an advocate to plead her cause against so many learned lawyers as had undertaken to urge her accusations; but all her demands were rejected; and, after an adjournment of some days, sentence of death was pronounced against her in the Star-chamber in Westminster, all the commissioners except two being present. At the same time a declaration was published by the commissioners, implying, that the sentence against her did in no wise derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland, son to the attainted queen.

Though the condemnation of a sovereign princess at a tribunal to which she owed no subjection, was an injustice that must strike the most inattentive, yet the

Oct. 29, parliament of England did not fail to approve 1586. the sentence, and to go still farther, in presenting an address to the queen, desiring that it might speedily be put into execution. But Elizabeth still felt, or pretended to feel, a horror for such precipitate seve-

city. She entreated the two houses to find some expedient to save her from the necessity of taking a step so repugnant to her inclination. But at the same time she seemed to dread another conspiracy to assassinate her within a month; which probably was only an artifice of her ministers to increase her apprehensions, and, consequently, her desire of being rid of a rival that had given her so much disturbance. The parliament, however, reiterated their solicitations, arguments, and entreaties; and even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots was cruelty to them, her subjects, and her children. Elizabeth affected to continue inflexible, but at the same time permitted Mary's sentence to be made public; and lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk to the council, were sent to the unhappy queen to apprise her of the sentence, and of the popular clamour for its speedy execution.

Upon receiving this dreadful information, Mary seemed no way moved; but insisted, that since her death was demanded by the protestants, she died a martyr to the catholic religion. She said, that as the English often embued their hands in the blood of their own sovereigns, it was not to be wondered at that they exercised their cruelty towards her. She wrote her last letter to Elizabeth, not demanding her life, which she now seemed willing to part with, but desiring that, after her enemies should be satiated with her innocent blood, her body might be consigned to her servants, and conveyed to France, there to repose in a catholic country, with the sacred remains of her mother.

In the mean time, accounts of this extraordinary sentence were spread into all parts of Europe; and the king of France was among the foremost who attempted to avert the threatened blow. He sent over Believre as an extraordinary ambassador, with a professed intention

of interceding for the life of Mary. But James of Scotland, her son, was, as in duty obliged, still more pressing in her behalf. He dispatched Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to spare the life of his parent, and mixing threats of vengeance in case of a refusal. Elizabeth treated his remonstrances with the utmost indignation; and when the Scottish ambassador begged that the execution might be put off for a week, the queen answered with great emotion, "No, not for an hour." Thus Elizabeth, when solicited by foreign princes to pardon the queen of Scots, seemed always disposed to proceed to extremities against her; but when her ministers urged her to strike the blow, her scruples and her reluctance seemed to return.

Whether the queen was really sincere in her reluctance to execute Mary, is a question which, though usually given against her, I will not take upon me to determine. Certainly there were great arts used by her courtiers to determine her to the side of severity, as they had every thing to fear from the resentment of Mary, in case of her succeeding to the throne. Accordingly the kingdom was now filled with rumours of plots, treasons, and insurrections; and the queen was continually kept in alarm by fictitious dangers. She therefore appeared to be in great terror and perplexity; she was observed to sit much alone, and to mutter to herself half-sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. In this situation, she one day called her secretary, Davidson, whom she ordered to draw out secretly the warrant for Mary's execution, informing him, that she intended to keep it by her in case any attempt should be made for the delivery of that princess. She signed the warrant, and then commanded it to be carried to the chancellor to have the

seal affixed to it. Next morning, however, she sent two gentlemen successively to desire that Davidson would not go to the chancellor, until she should see him; but the secretary telling her that the warrant had been already sealed, she seemed displeased at his precipitation. Davidson, who probably wished to see the sentence executed, laid the affair before the council, who unanimously resolved, that the warrant should be immediately put in execution, and promised to justify Davidson to the queen. Accordingly, the fatal instrument was delivered to Beale, who summoned the noblemen to whom it was directed, namely, the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, and Cumberland; and these together set out for Fotheringay castle, accompanied by two executioners, to dispatch their bloody commission.

Mary heard of the arrival of her executioners, who ordered her to prepare for death by eight o'clock the next morning. Without any alarm, she heard the death-warrant read with her usual composure, though she could not help expressing her surprise, that the queen of England should consent to her execution. She even abjured her being privy to any conspiracy against Elizabeth, by laying her hand upon a New Testament, which happened to lie on the table. She desired that her confessor might be permitted to attend her; which, however, these zealots refused. After the earls had retired, she ate sparingly at supper, while she comforted her attendants (who continued weeping and lamenting the fate of their mistress) with a cheerful countenance, telling them, they ought not to mourn, but to rejoice, at the prospect of her speedy deliverance from a world of misery. Towards the end of supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them; they pledged her in order on their knees, and craved her pardon for

any past neglect of duty. She craved mutual forgiveness; and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn separation.

After this, she reviewed her will, and perused the inventory of her effects. These she bequeathed to different individuals, and divided her money among her domestics, recommending them in letters to the king of France and the duke of Guise. Then going to bed at her usual hour, she passed part of the night in uninterrupted repose, and, rising, spent the remainder in prayer and acts of devotion. Towards morning, she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved for this solemn occasion. Thomas Andrews, the under sheriff of the county,

Feb. 8, then entering the room, informed her that the 1587. hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready; and, bidding her servants farewell, she proceeded, supported by two of her guards, and followed the sheriff with a serene composed aspect, with a long veil of linen on her head, and in her hand a crucifix of ivory. In passing through a hall adjoining to her chamber, sir Andrew Melvil, master of her household, fell upon his knees, and, shedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune, in being doomed to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland. "Lament not," said she, "but rather rejoice. Mary Stuart will soon be freed from all her cares. Tell my friends that I die constant in my religion, and firm in my affection and fidelity to Scotland and France. God forgive them that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood as the hart panteth for the water-brook! Thou, O God, who art truth itself, and perfectly understandest the inmost thoughts of my heart, knowest how greatly I have desired that the realms of Scotland and

England might be united. Commend me to my son, and assure him I have done nothing prejudicial to the state or the crown of Scotland. Admonish him to persevere in amity and friendship with the queen of England; and, for thy own part, do him faithful service. And so, good Melvil, farewell; once again farewell, good Melvil, and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and thy mistress." In this place she was received by the four noblemen, who with great difficulty were prevailed upon to allow Melvil, with her physician, apothecary, and two female attendants, to be present at her execution. She then passed (the noblemen and the sheriff going before, and Melvil bearing up her train) in another hall, where was a scaffold erected and covered with black. As soon as she was seated, Beale began to read the warrant for her execution. Then Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, standing without the rails, repeated a long exhortation, which she desired him to forbear, as she was firmly resolved to die in the catholic religion. The room was crowded with spectators, who beheld her with pity and distress, while her beauty, though dimmed by age and affliction, gleamed through her sufferings, and was still remarkable in this fatal moment. The earl of Kent, observing that in her devotions she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her, exhorting her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched for the sufferings of him whom it represented. She now began, with the aid of her two women, to undress for the block; and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company; or to be attended by such servants

Her women bursting into tears and loud exclamations of sorrow, she turned about to them; put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and, having given them her blessing, desired their prayers in return. The two executioners kneeling, and asking her pardon, she said she forgave them, and all the authors of her death, as freely as she hoped forgiveness of her Maker; and once more made a solemn protestation of her innocence. Her eyes were then covered with a linen handkerchief; she laid herself down without any fear or trepidation; and when she had recited a psalm, and repeated a pious ejaculation, her head was severed from her body at two strokes. The executioner instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death. The dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The earl of Kent replied Amen, while the rest of the spectators wept and sighed at this affecting spectacle; for flattery and zeal alike gave place to stronger and better emotions. Thus died Mary, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity—a princess unmatched in beauty, and unequalled in misfortunes. In contemplating the contentions of mankind, we find almost ever both sides culpable: Mary, who was stained with crimes that deserved punishment, was put to death by a princess who had no right to inflict punishment on her equal.

It is difficult to be certain of the true state of Elizabeth's mind, when she received the first account of the death of Mary. Historians in general are willing to ascribe the extreme sorrow she testified on that occasion to falsehood and deep dissimulation. But where is the necessity of ascribing to bad motives, what seems to proceed from a more generous source? There is no-

thing more certain than that, upon hearing the news, she testified the utmost surprise and indignation. Her countenance changed, her speech faltered and failed her, and she stood fixed for a long time in mute astonishment. When the first burst of sorrow was over, she still persisted in her resentment against her ministers, none of whom dared to approach her. She committed Davidson to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star-chamber for his misdemeanour. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; in consequence of which he remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to want and beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. It is likely, therefore, that Elizabeth was sincere enough in her anger for the fate of Mary, as it was an event likely to brand her reign with the character of cruelty; and though she might have desired her rival's death, yet she must certainly have been shocked at the manner of it.

But the uneasiness the queen felt from this disagreeable forwardness of her ministry was soon lost in one much greater. Philip, who had long meditated the destruction of England, and whose extensive power gave him grounds to hope for success, now began to put his projects into execution. The point on which he rested his glory, and the perpetual object of his schemes, was to support the catholic religion, and exterminate the Reformation. The revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands inflamed his resentment against the English, as they had encouraged that insurrection, and assisted the revolters. He had, therefore, for some time been making preparations to attack England by a powerful invasion; and now every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments, and every art

was used to levy supplies for that great design. The marquis of Santa Cruz, a sea officer of great reputation and experience, was destined to command the fleet,

A. D. which consisted of a hundred and thirty vessels, 1588. of a greater size than any that had been hitherto seen in Europe. The duke of Parma was to conduct the soldiers, twenty thousand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thousand more were assembled in the Netherlands, ready to be transported into England. The most renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious to share in the honour of this great enterprise. Don Amadeus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Gonzaga duke of Sabionetta, and others, hastened to join this great equipment; no doubt was entertained of its success, and it was ostentatiously styled the Invincible Armada. It carried on board, beside the land forces, eight thousand four hundred mariners, two thousand galley-slaves, and two thousand six hundred and thirty great pieces of brass ordnance. It was victualled for six months, and was attended with twenty smaller ships, called caravels, and ten salves.

Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation which all ranks of people felt in England upon news of this terrible Armada being under sail to invade them. A fleet of not above thirty ships of war, and those very small in comparison, was all that was to oppose it by sea; and as for resisting by land, that was supposed to be impossible, as the Spanish army was composed of men well disciplined, and long inured to danger. The queen alone seemed undismayed in this threatening calamity: she issued all her orders with tranquillity; animated her people to a steady resistance; and, the more to excite the martial spirit of the nation, she appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, exhorting the soldiers to their duty, and promising to share the

same dangers and the same fate with them. "I myself," cried she, "will be your general, your judge, and the rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. Your alacrity has already deserved its rewards; and, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. Persevere then in your obedience to command; show your valour in the field; and we shall soon have a glorious victory over those enemies of my God, my kingdom, and my people." The soldiers with shouts proclaimed their ardour, and only wished to be led on to conquest.

Nor were her preparations by sea driven on with less alacrity: although the English fleet was much inferior in number and size of shipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity and courage of the mariners being greatly superior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, as lord admiral, took on him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him; while a small squadron, consisting of forty vessels, English and Flemish, commanded by lord Henry Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. This was the preparation made by the English; while all the protestant powers of Europe regarded this enterprise as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion.

While the Spanish Armada was preparing to sail, the admiral, Santa Cruz, died, as likewise the vice-admiral Paliano; and the command of the expedition was given to the duke de Medina Sidonia, a person utterly inexperienced in sea affairs; and this, in some measure, served to frustrate the design. But some other accidents also contributed to its failure. Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the Armada next day met

with a violent tempest, which sunk some of the smallest of the shipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into harbour. After some time spent in refitting, they again put to sea, where they took a fisherman, who gave them intelligence that the English fleet, hearing of the dispersion of the Armada in a storm, had retired into Plymouth harbour, and that most of the mariners, were discharged. From this false intelligence, the Spanish admiral, instead of going directly to the coast of Flanders to take in the troops stationed there, as he had been instructed, resolved to sail to Plymouth, and destroy the shipping laid up in that harbour. But Effingham, the English admiral, was very well prepared to receive them; he had just weighed anchor, when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a half-moon, and stretching seven miles from one extremity to the other. However, the English admiral, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, attacked the Armada at a distance, pouring in their broadsides with admirable dexterity. They did not choose to engage the enemy more closely, because they were greatly inferior in the number of ships, guns, and weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board such lofty ships without manifest disadvantage. However, two Spanish galleons were disabled and taken. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English still followed and infested its rear; and their fleet continually increasing from different ports, they soon found themselves in a capacity to attack the Spaniards more nearly; and accordingly fell upon them while they were taking shelter in the port of Calais. To increase their confusion, Howard took eight of his smaller ships, and, filling them with combustible materials, sent them, as if they had been fire-ships, one after the other, into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards, taking them for

what they seemed to be, immediately took flight in great disorder; while the English, profiting by their panic, took or destroyed about twelve of the enemy's ships.

This was a fatal blow to Spain: the duke de Medina Sidonia, being thus driven to the coast of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was resolved that, as their ammunition began to fail, as their ships had received great damage, and as the duke of Parma had refused to venture his army under their protection, they should return to Spain by sailing round the Orkneys, as the winds were contrary to his passage directly back. Accordingly they proceeded northward, and were followed by the English fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they were terribly shattered by a storm. Seventeen of the ships, having five thousand men on board, were afterwards cast away upon the Western Isles and the coast of Ireland. Of the whole Armada, three and fifty ships only returned to Spain, in a miserable condition; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained, only served, by their accounts, to intimidate their countrymen from attempting to renew so dangerous an expedition.

These disasters of the Spanish Armada served only to excite the spirit and courage of the English to attempt invasions in their turn. It would be endless to relate all the advantages obtained over the enemy at sea, where the capture of every ship must have been made a separate narrative; or their various descents upon different parts of the coast, which were attended with effects too transient for the page of history. It is sufficient to observe, that the sea-captains of that reign are still considered as the boldest and most enterprising set of men that England ever produced! and among this number we reckon our Raleigh and Howard, our

Drake, our Cavendish, and Hawkins. The English navy then began to take the lead, and has since continued irresistible in all parts of the ocean.

One of those who made the most signal figure in these depredations upon Spain, was the young earl of Essex, a nobleman of great bravery, generosity, and genius; and fitted, not only for the foremost ranks in war by his valour, but to conduct the intrigues of a court by his eloquence and address. But, with all these endowments both of body and mind, he wanted prudence; being impetuous, haughty, and totally incapable of advice or control. The earl of Leicester had died some time before, and now left room in the queen's affections for a new favourite, which she was not long in choosing, since the merit, the bravery, and the popularity of Essex, were too great not to engage her attention. Elizabeth, though she rejected a husband, yet appeared always passionately desirous of a lover; and flattery had rendered her so insensible to her want of beauty, and the depredations of age, that she still thought herself as powerful by her personal accomplishments as by her authority. The new favourite was young, active, ambitious, witty, and handsome; in the field, and at court, he always appeared with superior lustre. In all the masques which were then performed, he and Elizabeth were generally coupled as partners; and although she was older, by thirty-four years, than the earl, her vanity overlooked the disparity; the world told her that she was young, and she herself was willing to think so. This young earl's interest in the queen's affections, as may naturally be supposed, promoted his interest in the state; and he conducted all things at his discretion. But, young and inexperienced as he was, he at length began to fancy that the popularity he possessed, and the flatteries he receive-

ed, were given to his merits and not to his favour. His jealousy also of lord Burleigh, who was his only rival in power, made him still more intractable; and the many successes he had obtained against the Spaniards increased his confidence. In a debate before the queen, between him and Burleigh, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous manner; which so provoked her resentment, that she instantly gave him a box on the ear. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore he would not bear such usage even from her father. This offence, though very great, was overlooked by the queen; her partiality was so prevalent, that she reinstated him in his former favour, and her kindness seemed to have acquired new force from that A.D. short interruption of anger and resentment. 1598. The death also of his rival lord Burleigh, which happened shortly after, seemed to confirm his power.

But though few men were possessed of Essex's talents both for war and peace, yet he had not art enough to guard against the intrigues of a court; his temper was too candid and open, and gave his enemies many advantages over him. At that time the earl of Tyrone headed the rebellious natives of Ireland; who, not yet thoroughly brought into subjection to the English, took every opportunity of making incursions upon the more civilized inhabitants, and slew all they were able to overpower. To subdue these, was an employment that the earl thought worthy of his ambition; nor were his enemies displeased at thus removing a man from court, who obstructed all their private aims of preferment: but it ended in his ruin.

A.D. Essex, upon entering on his new command 1599. in Ireland, employed his friend, the earl of Southampton, who was long obnoxious to the queen, as general of horse; nor was it till after repeated orders from Elizabeth that he could be prevailed on to displace him. This indiscretion was followed by another: instead of attacking the insurgents in their grand retreat in Ulster, he led his forces into the province of Munster, where he only exhausted his strength, and lost his opportunity, against a people that submitted at his approach, but took up arms again when he retired. It may easily be supposed that these miscarriages were urged by the enemies of Essex at home; but they had still greater reason to attack his reputation, when it was known that, instead of humbling the rebels, he had only treated with them, and, instead of forcing them to a submission, had concluded a cessation of hostilities. This issue of an enterprise, from which much was expected, did not fail to provoke the queen most sensibly; and her anger was heightened by the peevish and impatient letters which he wrote to her and the council. But her resentment against him was still more justly let loose, when she found that, leaving the place of his appointment, without any permission demanded or obtained, he had returned from Ireland to make his complaints to herself in person.

At first, indeed, Elizabeth was pleased at seeing a favourite come back whom she longed to see; but the momentary satisfaction of his unexpected appearance being over, she reflected on the impropriety of his conduct with greater severity, and ordered him to remain a prisoner at his own house. This was a reception Essex was not unprepared for: he used every expression of humiliation and sorrow, and tried once more the long-unpractised arts of insinuation that had

brought him into favour. The queen still continuing inflexible, he resolved to give up every prospect of ambition; but previous to his retiring into the country, he assured the queen that he should never be happy till he again saw those eyes which were used to shine upon him with such lustre; that, in expectance of that happy moment, he would, like another Nebuchadnezzar, dwell with the beasts of the field; and be wet with the dew of heaven, till she again propitiously took pity on his sufferings. This romantic message, which was quite in the breeding of the times, seemed peculiarly pleasing to the queen: she thought him sincere from the consciousness of her own sincerity; she therefore replied, that, after some time, when convinced of his sincerity, something might be expected from her lenity. When these symptoms of her returning affection were known, they equally renewed the fears of his real enemies and the assiduities of his pretended friends. He did not therefore decline an examination of his conduct before the council, secure in his mistress's favour, and their impotence to do him a real injury. In consequence of this he was only sentenced, for his late misconduct, to resign his employments, and to continue a prisoner in his own house, till her majesty's farther pleasure should be known.

He now had in some measure triumphed over A. D. his enemies; and the discretion of a few months 1600. might have reinstated him in all his former employments; but the impetuosity of his character would not suffer him to wait for a slow redress of what he considered as wrongs; and the queen's refusing his request to continue him in the possession of a lucrative monopoly of sweet wines, which he had long enjoyed, spurred him on to the most violent and guilty measures. Having long built with fond credulity on his great po-

pularity, he began to hope, from the assistance of the giddy multitude, for that revenge upon his enemies in the council, which he supposed was denied him from the throne. With these aims, he began to increase the general propensity in his favour, by a hospitality little suited to his situation or his circumstances. He entertained men of all ranks and professions; but particularly the military, who, he hoped, in his present views, might be serviceable to him. But his greatest dependence was upon the professions of the citizens of London, whose schemes of religion and government he appeared entirely to approve; and while he gratified the puritans by railing at the government of the church, he pleased the envious by exposing the faults of those in power. However, the chief severity of his censure was heard to rest upon the queen, whom he did not hesitate to ridicule; and of whom he declared that she was now become an old woman, and that her mind was grown as crooked as her body.

A. D. It may well be supposed that none of these 1601. indiscretions were concealed from the queen: his enemies, and her emissaries, took care to bring her information of all his resentments and aims, and to aggravate his slightest reflections into treason. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous where her beauty was in question; and, though she was now in her sixty-eighth year, yet she eagerly listened to all the flattery of her courtiers, when they called her a Venus, or an angel. She therefore began to consider him as unworthy of her esteem, and permitted his enemies to drive him to those extremities to which he was naturally inclined to proceed. He had, in fact, by this time collected a select council of malcontents, who flattered him in his wild projects; and, supposing their adherents much more numerous than they really were, they took no pains to

conceal their intentions. Among other criminal projects, the result of blind rage and despair, they resolved at last that sir Christopher Blount, one of his creatures, should, with a choice detachment, possess himself of the palace-gates; that sir John Davies should seize the hall, sir Charles Davers the guard-chamber, while Essex himself would rush from the Mews, attended by a body of his partisans, into the queen's presence, entreat her to remove his and her enemies, to assemble a new parliament, and to correct the defects of the present administration.

It was the fortune of this queen's reign, that all projects against it were frustrated by a timely notice of their nature and intent. The queen and council, alarmed at the great resort of people to Essex-house, and having some intimations of the earl's design, sent secretary Herbert to require his appearance before the council, which was assembled at the lord keeper's. While Essex was deliberating upon the manner in which he should proceed, whether to attend the summons or to fly into open rebellion, he received a private note, by which he was warned to provide for his safety. He now, therefore consulted with his friends on the emergency of their situation; they were destitute of arms and ammunition, while the guards at the palace were doubled, so that any attack upon it would be fruitless. While he and his confidants were in consultation, a person probably employed by his enemies, came in as a messenger from the citizens, with tenders of friendship and assistance against all his adversaries. Wild as the project was of raising the city, in the present terrible conjuncture, it was resolved on; but the execution of it was delayed till the day following.

Early in the morning of the next day he was attended by his friends the earls of Rutland and Southampton,

the lords Sandys, Parker, and Monteagle, with three hundred persons of distinction. The doors of Essex-house were immediately locked, to prevent all strangers from entering; and the earl now discovered his scheme for raising the city more fully to all the conspirators. In the mean time, sir Walter Raleigh sending a message to sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames, and there discovered all their proceedings. The queen, being informed of the whole, sent in the utmost haste Egerton, the lord keeper, sir William Knollys, the comptroller, Popham, the lord chief justice, and the earl of Worcester, to Essex-house, to demand the cause of these unusual proceedings. It was some time before they received admittance through the wicket into the house; and it was not without some degree of fury that they ordered Essex and his adherents to lay down their arms. While they continued undaunted in the discharge of their duty, and the multitude around them clamoured loudly for their punishment, the earl of Essex, who now saw that all was to be hazarded, resolved to leave them prisoners in his house, and to sally forth to make an insurrection in the city. But he had made a very wrong estimate in expecting that popularity alone could aid him in time of danger; he issued out with about two hundred followers, armed only with swords; and, in his passage to the city, was joined by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. As he passed through the streets, he cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" hoping to engage the populace to rise: but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houses; so that he was not joined by a single person. He then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he greatly depended; but the crowd gathered round him

rather to satisfy their curiosity than to lend him any assistance. Essex now perceived that he was quite undone; and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, he began to think of retreating to his own house, there to sell his life as dearly as he could. But he was prevented in his aims even there; the streets in his way were barricaded, and guarded by the citizens, under the command of sir John Levison. In fighting his way through this obstruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman for whom he had a singular affection, was killed, and sir Christopher Blount wounded and taken. The earl himself, attended by a few of his followers, the rest having privately retired, made towards the river: and, taking a boat, arrived once more at Essex-house, where he began to make preparations for his defence. But his case was too desperate for any remedy from valour; wherefore, after demanding in vain for hostages and conditions from his besiegers, he surrendered at discretion, requesting only civil treatment, and a fair and impartial hearing.

Essex and Southampton were immediately carried to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, whence they were next day conveyed to the Tower, and tried by their peers on the nineteenth of February. Little could be urged in their defence; their guilt was too flagrant; and, though it deserved pity, it could not meet an acquittal. Essex, after condemnation, was visited by that religious horror which seemed to attend him in all his disgraces. He was terrified almost to despair by the ghostly remonstrances of his own chaplain; he was reconciled to his enemies, and made a full confession of his conspiracy. It is alleged upon this occasion that he had strong hopes of pardon, from the irresolution which the queen seemed to discover before she

signed the warrant for his execution. She had given him formerly a ring, which she desired him to send her in any emergency of this nature, and that it should procure his safety and protection. This ring was actually sent to her by the countess of Nottingham, who, being a concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth was secretly fired at his obstinacy in making no applications for mercy and forgiveness. The fact is, she appeared herself as much an object of pity as the unfortunate nobleman she was induced to condemn. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderness. At last she gave her consent to his execution, and was never seen to enjoy one happy day more.

After the beheading of Essex, which death he suffered in the thirty-fifth year of his age, some of his associates were brought in like manner to their trials. Cuffe, his secretary, a turbulent man, but possessed of great learning, Davers, Blount, and Meric, were condemned and executed; the queen pardoned the rest, being persuaded that they were culpable only from their friendship to their benefactor.

The remaining events of this reign are not considerable enough to come into a picture already crowded with great ones. With the death of her favourite Essex, all Elizabeth's pleasures seemed to expire: she afterwards went through the business of the state merely from habit; but her satisfactions were no more. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable to remove. She had now found out the falsehood of the countess of Nottingham; who, on her death-bed, sent for the queen, and informed her of the fatal circumstance of the ring, which she had neglected

to deliver. This information only served to awaken all that passion which the queen had vainly endeavoured to suppress. She shook the dying countess in her bed, crying out, that "God might pardon her, but she never would." She then broke from her, and resigned herself to the dictates of her fixed despair. She refused food and sustenance; she continued silent and Mar. 24, gloomy; sighs and groans were the only vent 1603. she gave to her despondence; and she lay for ten days and nights upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her. Perhaps the faculties of her mind were impaired by long and violent exercise; perhaps she reflected with remorse on some past actions of her life, or perceived but too strongly the decays of nature and the approach of her dissolution. She saw her courtiers remitting their assiduity to her, in order to pay their court to James, the apparent successor. Such a concurrence of causes was more than sufficient to destroy the remains of her constitution; and her end visibly approached. Feeling a perpetual heat in her stomach, attended with an unquenchable thirst, she drank without ceasing, but refused the assistance of her physicians. Her distemper gaining ground, sir Robert Cecil, and the lord admiral, desired to know her sentiments with regard to the succession. To this she replied, that as the crown of England had always been held by kings, it ought not to devolve upon any inferior character, but upon her immediate heir, the king of Scotland. Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied, that her thoughts did not in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours, and she expired gently without a groan in the seventieth year of her age.

and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her character differed with her circumstances; in the beginning she was moderate and humble; towards the end of her reign, haughty and severe. But ever prudent, active, and discerning; she procured for her subjects that happiness which was not entirely felt by those about her. She was indebted to her good fortune; that her ministers were excellent; but it was owing to her indiscretion that the favourites, who were more immediately chosen by herself, were unworthy. Though she was possessed of excellent sense, she never had the discernment to discover that she wanted beauty; and to flatter her charms at the age of sixty-five, was the surest road to her favour and esteem.

But whatever were her personal defects, as a queen she is to be ever remembered by the English with gratitude. It is true, indeed, that she carried her prerogative in parliament to its highest pitch; so that it was tacitly allowed in that assembly, that she was above all laws, and could make and unmake them at her pleasure; yet still she was so wise and good, as seldom to exert that power which she claimed, and to enforce few acts of her prerogative, which were not for the benefit of the people. It is true, in like manner, that the English during her reign were put in possession of no new or splendid acquisitions; but commerce was daily growing up amongst them, and the people began to find that the theatre of their truest conquests was to be on the bosom of the ocean. A nation which hitherto had been the object of every invasion, and a prey to every plunderer, now asserted its strength in turn, and became terrible to its invaders. The successful voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese began to excite their emulation; and they fitted out several expeditions for discovering a

shorter passage to the East Indies. The famous sir Walter Raleigh, without any assistance from government, colonised Virginia in North America, while internal commerce was making equal improvements; and many Flemings, persecuted in their native country, found, together with their arts and industry, an easy asylum in England. Thus the whole island seemed as if roused from her long habits of barbarity; arts, commerce, and legislation, began to acquire new strength; and such was the state of learning at the time, that some fix this period as the Augustan age of England. Sir Walter Raleigh and Hooker are considered as among the first improvers of our language. Spenser and Shakspeare are too well known as poets, to be praised here; but of all mankind, Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who flourished in this reign, deserves, as a philosopher, the highest applause; his style is copious and correct, and his wit is only surpassed by his learning and penetration. If we look through history, and consider the rise of kingdoms, we shall scarcely find an instance of a people becoming, in so short a time, wise, powerful, and happy. Liberty, it is true, still continued to fluctuate; Elizabeth knew her own power, and stretched it to the very verge of despotism: but now that commerce was introduced, liberty soon followed; for there never was a nation perfectly commercial, that submitted long to slavery.

CHAPTER VI.

JAMES I.

A. D. 1603—1625.

JAMES, the Sixth of Scotland and the First of England, the son of Mary, came to the throne with the approbation of all orders of the state, as in his person was united every claim that either descent, bequest, or parliamentary sanction could confer. He had every reason, therefore, to hope for a happy reign; and he was taught, from his infancy, that his prerogative was uncontrollable, and his right transmitted from heaven. These sentiments he took no care to conceal; and even published them in many parts of those works which he had written before he left Scotland.

But he was greatly mistaken in the spirit of thinking of the times; for new systems of government, and new ideas of liberty, had for some time been stealing in with the Reformation, and only wanted the reign of a weak or merciful monarch to appear without control. In consequence of the progress of knowledge, and a familiar acquaintance with the governments of antiquity, the old Gothic forms began to be despised; and an emulation took place to imitate the freedom of Greece and Rome. The severe though popular government of Elizabeth had confined this rising spirit within very narrow bounds; but when a new sovereign and a new family appeared, less dreaded and less loved by the people, symptoms immediately began to be seen of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

James had scarcely entered England when he gave disgust to many. The desire in all to see their new

sovereign was ardent and natural; but the king, who loved retirement, forbade the concourse that attended on his journey from Scotland, pretending that this great resort of people would produce a scarcity of provisions. To this offence to the people he added, soon after, what gave disgust to the higher orders of the state, by prostituting titles of honour, so that they became so common as to be no longer marks of distinction. A pasquinade was fixed up at St. Paul's, declaring that there would be a lecture given on the art of assisting short memories, to retain the names of the new nobility.

But though his countrymen shared a part of these honours, yet justice must be done the king, by confessing that he left almost all the great offices in the hands in which he found them. Among these, Cecil, created earl of Salisbury, was continued prime minister and chief counsellor. This crafty statesman had been too cunning for the rest of his associates; and while, during Elizabeth's reign, he was apparently leagued against the earl of Essex, whom James protected, yet he kept up a secret correspondence with that monarch, and secured his interests without forfeiting the confidence of his party.

But it was not so fortunate with lord Grey, lord Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh, who had been Cecil's associates. They felt immediately the effects of the king's displeasure, and were dismissed from their employments. These three seemed to be marked out for peculiar indignation; for, soon after, they were accused of entering into a conspiracy against the king; neither the proofs of which, nor its aims, have reached posterity: all that is certain is, that they were condemned to die, but had their sentence mitigated by the king. Cobham and Grey were pardoned, after they had laid their heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but

remained in confinement many years afterwards, and at last suffered for this offence, which was never proved.

This mercy, shown to those supposed delinquents, was very pleasing to the people; and the king, willing A.D. to remove all jealousy of his being a stranger, 1604. began his attempts in parliament by an endeavour to unite both kingdoms into one. However, the minds of the people were not yet ripe for this coalition; they were apprehensive that the posts and employments, which were in the gift of the court, would be conferred on the Scots, whom they were as yet taught to regard as foreigners. By the repulse in this instance, as well as by some exceptions the house of commons took to the form of his summons to parliament, James found that the people he came to govern were very different from those he had left behind, and perceived that he must give reasons for every measure he intended to enforce.

He now, therefore, attempted to correct his former mistake, and to peruse the English laws, as he had formerly done those of his own country; and by these he resolved to govern. But even here he again found himself disappointed. In a government so fluctuating as that of England, opinion was ever deviating from law; and what was enacted in one reign was contradicted by custom in another. The laws had all along declared in favour of an almost unlimited prerogative, while the opinions of the people were guided by instructors who began to teach opposite principles. All the kings and queens before him, except such as were controlled by intestine divisions, or awed by foreign invasion, rather issued their commands to parliament than gave their reasons. James, unmindful of this alteration in the opinions of the people, resolved to govern in the ancient manner; while the people, on the contrary, having once

gotten an idea of the inherent privileges of mankind, never gave it up, sensible that they had reason and power also on their side.

Numberless were the disputes between the king and his parliament during this reign; the one striving to keep the privileges of the crown entire, the other aiming at abridging the dangerous part of the prerogative; the one labouring to preserve customs established for time immemorial, the other equally assiduous in defending the inherent privileges of humanity. Thus we see laudable motives actuating the disputants on both sides of the question, and the principles of both founded either in law or in reason. When the parliament would not grant a subsidy, James had examples enough among his predecessors, which taught him to extort a benevolence. Edward the Fourth, Henry the Eighth, and queen Elizabeth herself, had often done so; and precedent undoubtedly entitled him to the same privilege. On the other hand, the house of commons, who found their growing power to protect the people, and not suffer the impositions of the crown, considered that this extorted benevolence might at length render the sovereign entirely independent of the parliament, and therefore complained of it, as an infringement of their privileges. These attempts of the crown, and these murmurings of the commons, continued through this whole reign, and first gave rise to that spirit of party which has ever since subsisted in England; the one for preserving the ancient constitution, by maintaining the prerogative of the king, the other for trying an experiment to improve it, by extending the liberties of the people.

During these contests, James, who supposed no arguments sufficient to impair the prerogative, seemed entirely secure that none would attempt to allege any. He continued to entertain his parliament with set

speeches and florid harangues, in which he urged his divine right and absolute power as things incontestable : to these the commons made as regular answers, not absolutely denying his pretensions, but slowly and regularly abridging his power.

However, though James persevered in asserting his prerogative, and threatened those who should presume to abridge it, yet his justice and clemency were very apparent in the toleration which he gave to the teachers of different religions throughout the kingdom. The minds of the people had long been irritated against one another, and each party persecuted the rest, as it happened to prevail : it was expected, therefore, that James would strengthen the hands of that which was then uppermost, and that the catholics and sectaries should find no protection. But this monarch wisely observed, that men should be punished for actions, and not for opinions ; a decision which gave general dissatisfaction ; but the complaint of every sect was the best argument of his moderation towards all.

Yet mild as this monarch was, there was a project contrived in the very beginning of his reign for the re-establishment of popery, which, were it not a fact known to all the world, could scarcely be credited by posterity. This was the gunpowder plot ; than which a more horrid or terrible scheme never entered into the human heart to conceive ; and which shows at once that the most determined courage may be united with the most execrable intentions.

The Roman catholics had expected great favour and indulgence on the accession of James, both as a descendant from Mary, a rigid catholic, and also from his having shown some partiality to that religion in his youth. But they soon discovered their mistake, and were at once surprised and enraged to find James on all

occasions express his resolution of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in the conduct of his predecessor. This declaration determined them upon more desperate measures; and they at length formed a resolution of destroying the king and both houses of parliament at a blow. The scheme was first broached by Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and ancient family, who conceived that a train of gunpowder might be so placed under the parliament-house, as to blow up the king and all the members at once. He opened his intention to Thomas Percy, a descendant from the illustrious house of Northumberland, who was charmed with the project, and readily came into it. Thomas Winter was next intrusted with the dreadful secret; and he went over to Flanders in quest of Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage the conspirators were thoroughly acquainted. When they enlisted any new zealot into their plot, the more firmly to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the sacrament, the most sacred rite of religion. Every tender feeling, and all pity, were banished from their breasts; and Garnet, a Jesuit, superior of the order in England, absolved their consciences from every scruple.

How horrid soever the contrivance might appear, every member seemed faithful and secret 1605. A.D. in the league; and they hired a house in Percy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to assemble. Their first intention was to bore a way under the parliament-house, from that which they occupied, and they set themselves laboriously to the task; but when they had pierced the wall, which was three yards in thickness, they were surprised to find, on approaching the other side, that the house was vaulted underneath, and that coals were usually deposited there. From

their disappointment on this account they were soon relieved, by information that the coals were in a course of sale, and that the vault would be then let to the highest bidder. They therefore seized the opportunity of hiring the place, and bought the remaining quantity of coals with which it was then stored, as if for their own use. The next thing done was to convey thither thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, which had been purchased in Holland; and the whole was covered with the coals and with faggots brought for that purpose. Then the doors of the cellar were boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

Confident of success, they now began to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, the king's eldest son, were all expected to be present at the opening of the parliament. The king's second son, by reason of his tender age, would be absent, and it was resolved that Percy should seize or assassinate him. The princess Elizabeth, a child likewise, was kept at lord Harrington's house, in Warwickshire; and sir Everard Digby was to seize her, and immediately proclaim her queen.

The day for the sitting of parliament now approached. Never was treason more secret, or ruin more apparently inevitable; the hour was expected with impatience, and the conspirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful secret, though communicated to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept during the space of near a year and a half; but, when all the motives of pity, justice, and safety, were too weak, a remorse of private friendship saved the kingdom.

Percy, one of the conspirators, had conceived a design of saving the life of lord Monteagle, his intimate friend and companion, who also was of the same persuasion with himself. About ten days before the meeting of

parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a person unknown, and delivered by one who fled as soon as he had discharged his message. The letter was to this effect: "My lord, stay away from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of the times. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter."

The contents of this mysterious letter surprised and puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addressed; and though inclined to think it a foolish attempt to fright and ridicule him, yet he judged it safest to carry it to lord Salisbury, secretary of state. That minister was inclined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king, who came to town a few days after. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared serious and alarming. In this universal agitation between doubt and apprehension, the king was the first who penetrated the meaning of this dark epistle. He concluded that some sudden danger was preparing by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the houses of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of parliament. He Nov. 5, remarked those great piles of faggots which lay 1605. in the vault under the house of peers; and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and who passed himself for Percy's servant. That daring deter-

mined courage for which he had long been noted, even among the desperate, was fully painted in his countenance, and struck the lord chamberlain with strong suspicion. The great quantity of fuel also kept there for the use of a person seldom in town, did not pass unnoticed; and he resolved to take his time to make a more exact scrutiny. About midnight, therefore, sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of the peace, was sent with proper attendants; and just at the entrance of the vault he seized a man preparing for the terrible enterprise, dressed in a cloak and boots, with a dark lantern in his hand. This was no other than Guy Fawkes, who had just disposed every part of the train for its taking fire the next morning; the matches and other combustibles being found in his pockets. The whole of the design was now discovered; but the atrociousness of his guilt, and the despair of pardon, inspiring him with resolution, he told the officers of justice, with an undaunted air, that had he blown them and himself up together, he had been happy. Before the council, he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain; refusing to discover his associates, and showing no concern but for the failure of his enterprise. But his bold spirit was at length subdued; being confined to the Tower for two or three days, and the rack just shown him, his courage, fatigued with so long an effort, at last failed him, and he made a full discovery of all his accomplices.

Catesby, Percy, and the conspirators who were in London, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, fled with all speed into Warwickshire, where sir Everard Digby, relying on the success of the plot, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth. But the country soon began to take the alarm; and wherever they turned, they found a superior force ready to oppose

them. In this exigency, beset on all sides, they resolved, to about the number of eighty persons, to fly no farther, but make a stand at a house in Warwickshire, to defend it to the last, and sell their lives as dearly as possible. But even this miserable consolation was denied them: a spark of fire happening to fall among some gunpowder that was laid to dry, it blew up, and so maimed the principal conspirators, that the survivors resolved to open the gate and sally out against the multitude that surrounded the house. Some were instantly cut to pieces; Catesby, Percy, and Winter, standing back to back, fought long and desperately, till in the end the two first fell covered with wounds, and Winter was taken alive. Those who survived the slaughter were tried and convicted; several fell by the A.D. hands of the executioner, and others experienced 1606. the king's mercy. The Jesuits, Garnet and Oldcorn, who were privy to the plot, suffered with the rest; and, notwithstanding the atrociousness of their treason, Garnet was considered by his party as a martyr, and miracles were said to have been wrought by his blood.

Such was the end of a conspiracy that brought ruin on its contrivers, and utterly supplanted that religion it was intended to establish. Yet it is remarkable, that, before this audacious attempt, the chief conspirators had borne a fair reputation: Catesby was loved by all his acquaintance; and Digby was as highly respected, both for his honour and integrity, as any man in the nation. However, such are the lengths to which superstition and early prejudice can drive minds originally well formed, but impressed by a wrong direction.

The king's moderation, after the extinction of this conspiracy, was as great as his penetration in the prevention of it. The hatred excited in the nation against the catholics knew no bounds; and nothing but a total

extinction of those who adhered to that persuasion seemed capable of satisfying the greater part of the people. James bravely rejected all violent measures, and nobly declared that the late conspiracy, however atrocious, should never alter his plans of government; but as, on the one hand, he was determined to punish guilt, so, on the other, he would still support and protect innocence.

This moderation was at that time no way pleasing to the people; and the malignant part of his subjects were willing to ascribe this lenity to the papists, to his being himself tinctured with their superstitions. However this be, he still found his parliaments refractory to all the measures he took to support his authority at home, or his desire of peace with foreign states. His speeches, indeed, betrayed no want of resolution to defend his rights; but his liberality to his favourites, and the insufficiency of his finances to maintain the royal dignity, still rendered him dependent upon his parliament for money, and they took care to keep him in indigence. Thus he was often forced into concessions, which, when once granted, could never be recalled; and while he supposed himself maintaining the royal prerogative, it was diminishing on every side.

It was, perhaps, the opposition which James met with from his people, that made him place his affections upon different persons about the court, whom he rewarded with a liberality that bordered on profusion.

A. D. The death of prince Henry, a youth of great hopes, gave him no very great uneasiness, as his affections were rather taken up by newer connections. In the first rank of these stood Robert Carre, a youth of a good family in Scotland, who, after having passed some time in his travels, arrived in London, at about twenty years of age. All his natural accomplishments

consisted in a pleasing visage; all his acquired abilities, in an easy and graceful demeanour. This youth came to England with letters of recommendation, to see his countryman lord Hay; and that nobleman took an opportunity of assigning him the office of presenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, he was thrown by his horse, and his leg was broken in the king's presence. James approached him with pity and concern, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace till his cure was completed. He himself, after tilting, paid him a visit in his chamber, and returned frequently during his confinement. The ignorance and simplicity of the youth confirmed the king's affections, as he disregarded learning in his favourites, of which he found very little use in his own practice. Carre was therefore soon considered as the most rising man at court: he was knighted, created viscount Rochester, honoured with the order of the Garter, made a privy-counsellor; and, to raise him to the highest pitch of honour, he was at last created earl of Somerset.

This was an advancement which some regarded with envy; but the wiser part of mankind looked upon it with contempt and ridicule, sensible that ungrounded attachments are seldom of long continuance. Nor was it long before the favourite gave proofs of his being unworthy of the place he held in the king's affections. Among the friends whom he consulted at court was sir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities and learning: among the mistresses whom he addressed, was the young countess of Essex, whose husband had been sent by the king's command to travel, until the young couple should arrive at the age of puberty. But the assiduities of a man of such personal accomplishments as the favourite possessed were too powerful to be resisted; a

criminal correspondence was commenced between the countess and the earl; and Essex, upon his return from his travels, found his wife beautiful and lovely indeed, but her affections entirely placed upon another. But this was not all: not contented with denying him all the rights of a husband, she resolved to procure a divorce, and then to marry the favourite to whom she had granted her heart. It was upon this occasion that Overbury was consulted by his friend, and that this honest counsellor declared himself utterly averse to the match. He described the countess as an infamous and abandoned woman, and went so far as to threaten the earl that he would separate himself from him for ever, if he could so far forget his honour and his interest as to prosecute the intended marriage. The consequence of this advice was fatal to the giver. The countess, being made acquainted with his expostulations, urged A. D. her lover to ruin him. In consequence of this 1613. command, the king was persuaded by the favourite to order Overbury on an embassy into Russia; sir Thomas was persuaded by the same adviser to refuse going; the delinquent was shut up in the Tower, and there he was poisoned, by the direction of the countess, in a tart.

In the mean time, the divorce, which had been with some difficulty procured, took place, and the marriage of the favourite was solemnised with all imaginable splendour. But the suspicion of Overbury's being poisoned every day grew stronger, and reached the favourite, amidst all the glare and splendour of seeming happiness and success. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared; the gaiety of his manners was converted into sullen silence; and the king, whose affections had been engaged by these superficial accomplishments, began to cool to a man who no longer contri-

buted to his amusement. But the adoption of another favourite, and the discovery of Somerset's guilt, soon removed all remains of affection which the king might still harbour for him.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poison, having retired to Flushing, divulged the secret there; and the affair being thus laid before the king, he commanded sir Edward Coke, lord chief justice, to sift the affair to the bottom, with rigorous impartiality. This injunction was executed A. D. with great industry and severity; and the whole 1615. complication of guilt was carefully unravelled. The lieutenant of the Tower, and some of the inferior criminals were condemned and executed; Somerset and his countess were soon after found guilty, but reprieved and pardoned after some years of strict confinement. The king's duplicity and injustice on this occasion are urged as very great stains upon his character. Somerset was in his presence at the time the officer of justice came to apprehend him; and boldly reprehended that minister's presumption for daring to arrest a peer of the realm before the king. But James, being informed of the cause, said with a smile, "Nay, nay, you must go; for, if Coke should send for myself, I must comply." He then embraced him at parting, begged he would return immediately, and assured him he could not live without his company; yet he had no sooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, "Go, and the devil go with thee! I shall never see thy face again." He was also heard to wish, some time after, that God's curse might fall upon him and his family, if he should pardon those whom the law should condemn. However, he afterwards restored them both to liberty, and granted them a pension, with which they retired, and

languished out the remainder of their lives in guilt, infamy, and mutual recrimination.

But the king had not been so improvident as to part with one favourite before he had provided himself with another. This was George Villiers, a younger brother of a good family, who had returned from his travels at the age of twenty-two, and whom the enemies of Somerset had taken occasion to throw in the king's way, certain that his beauty and fashionable manners would do the rest. Accordingly he had been placed in a comedy full in the king's view, and immediately caught the monarch's affections. The history of the time, which appears not without some degree of malignity against this monarch, does not however insinuate any thing flagitious in these connections, but imputes his attachment rather to a weakness of understanding than to any perversion of appetite. Villiers was immediately taken into the king's service, and the office of cup-bearer was bestowed upon him. It was in vain that Somerset had used all his interest to depress him; his stern jealousy only served the more to interest the king in the young man's behalf.

After Somerset's fall, the favour of James was wholly turned upon young Villiers; in the course of a few years he created him viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the Garter, master of the horse, chief justice in eyre, warden of the cinque ports, master of the king's-bench office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high-admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham; his brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority. It may, indeed, be reckoned among the most capricious

circumstances of this monarch's reign, that he, who was bred a scholar, should choose for his favourites the most illiterate persons about his court; that he, whose personal courage was greatly suspected, should lavish his honours upon those whose only accomplishments were a skill in the warlike exercises of the times.

When unworthy favourites were thus advanced, it is not to be wondered at if the public concerns of the kingdom were neglected, and men of real merit left to contempt and misery. Yet such was the case at present, with regard to the cautionary towns in Holland, and the brave sir Walter Raleigh at home.

In the preceding reign, Elizabeth, when she gave assistance to the Dutch, at that time shaking off the Spanish yoke, was not so disinterested, upon her lending them large sums of money, as not to require a proper deposit for being repaid. The Dutch, therefore, put into her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, Brille, and Ramekens, which were to be restored upon payment of the money due, which amounted in the whole to eight hundred thousand pounds. But James, in his present exigency, having to supply a needy favourite and a craving court, agreed to evacuate these fortresses, upon the payment of a third part of the money which was strictly due. The cautionary A. D. towns were evacuated, which had held the states 1616. in total subjection, and which an ambitious or enterprising prince would have regarded as his most valuable possessions.

The universal murmur which this impolitic measure produced was soon after heightened by an act of severity which still continues as the blackest stain upon this monarch's memory. The brave and learned Raleigh had been confined in the Tower almost from the beginning of James's accession, for a conspiracy which had

never been proved against him ; and in that abode of wretchedness he wrote several valuable performances, which are still in the highest esteem. His long sufferings, and his ingenious writings, had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his favour ; and they who once detested the enemy of Essex, could not help pitying the long captivity of this philosophical soldier. He himself still struggled for freedom ; and perhaps it was with this desire that he spread the report of his having discovered a gold-mine in Guiana, which was sufficient not only to enrich the adventurers that should seize it, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The king, either believing his assertions, or willing to subject him to farther disgrace, granted him a commission to try his fortune in quest of these golden schemes ; but still reserved his former sentence as a check upon his future behaviour.

Raleigh was not long in making preparations for this adventure, which, from the sanguine manner in which he carried it on, many believed he thought to be as promising as he described it. He bent his course to Guiana ; and remaining himself at the mouth of the river Oroonoko with five of the largest ships, he sent the rest up the stream, under the command of his son and of captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to his interests. But instead of a country abounding in gold, as the adventurers were taught to expect, they found the Spaniards warned of their approach, and prepared in arms to receive them. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out that, " This was the true mine," meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching ; " and that none but fools looked for any other : " but just as he was speaking, he received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This was followed by another disappointment : for, when the English took possession of the town, they found nothing in it of any value.

It was Keymis who pretended that he had seen the mine, and gave the first account of it to Raleigh: but he now began to retract; and though he was within two hours' march of the place, he refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step towards finding it. He returned, therefore, to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his son's death; and then going into his cabin, put an end to his own life in despair.

Raleigh, in this forlorn situation, found now that all his hopes were over; and saw his misfortunes aggravated by the reproaches of those whom he had undertaken to command. Nothing could be more deplorable than his situation, particularly when he was told that he must be carried back to England to answer for his conduct to the king. It is pretended that he employed many artifices, first to engage his men to attack the Spanish settlements at a time of peace; and, on failure of that scheme, to make his escape into France. But all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the king's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy council. Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, made heavy complaints against the expedition; and the king declared that Raleigh had express orders to avoid all disputes and hostilities against the Spaniards: wherefore, to give the court of Spain a particular instance of his attachment, he signed a warrant for his execution, not for the A. D. present offence, but for his former conspiracy; 1618. thus showing himself guilty of complicated injustice; unjust in originally having condemned him without proof; unjust in having trusted a man with a commission, without a pardon expressive of that confidence; unjust in punishing with death a transgression that did not deserve it; but most unjust of all, when he refused a new trial, and condemned him upon an obsolete sentence.

This great man died with the same fortitude that he had testified through life : he observed, as he felt the edge of the axe, that it was a sharp but a sure remedy for all evils ; his harangue to the people was calm and eloquent ; and he laid his head on the block with the utmost indifference. His death ensured him that popularity which his former intrepidity and his sufferings, so much greater than his crimes, had tended to procure him ; and no measure in this reign was attended with so much public dissatisfaction. The death of this great man was soon followed by the disgrace of a still greater, namely, the chancellor Bacon, who was accused of receiving bribes in his office ; and, pleading guilty, was degraded and fined forty thousand pounds ; but his fine was afterwards remitted by the king.

The reasons for James's partiality to the court of Spain in the case of Raleigh soon appeared. This monarch had entertained an opinion, which was peculiar to himself, that in marrying his son Charles, the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him ; he therefore was obliged to seek, either in the court of France or Spain, a suitable match ; and he was taught to think of the latter. Gondomar, perceiving this weak monarch's partiality to a crowned head, made an offer of the second daughter of Spain to prince Charles : and, that he might render the temptation irresistible, he gave hopes of an immense fortune which should attend the princess. However, this was a negotiation which was not likely soon to be concluded ; and, from the time the idea was first started, James saw five years elapse without bringing the treaty to any kind of conclusion.

A delay of this kind was very displeasing to the king, who had all along an eye on the great fortune of the princess ; nor was it less disagreeable to prince Charles,

who, bred up with ideas of romantic passion, was in love without ever seeing the object of his affections. In this general tedium of delay, a project entered the head of Villiers (who had for some years ruled the king with absolute authority), that was fitter to be conceived by the knight of romance, than by a minister and a statesman. It was nothing less than that the prince should travel in disguise into Spain, and visit the object of his affections in person. Buckingham, who wished to ingratiate himself with the prince, offered to be his companion; and the king, whose business it was to check so wild a scheme, gave his consent to this hopeful proposal. Their adventures on this strange project could fill novels, and have actually been made the subject A. D. of many. Charles was the knight-errant and 1623. Buckingham was his esquire. They travelled through France in disguise, assuming the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They went to a ball at Paris, where the prince first saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards married, and who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. They were received at the court of Spain with all possible demonstrations of respect; but Buckingham filled the whole city with intrigues, adventures, serenades, challenges, and jealousy. To complete the catalogue of his follies, he fell in love with the countess of Olivarez, the prime minister's wife, and insulted that minister in person. These levities were not to be endured at such a court as that of Spain, where jealousy is so prevalent, and decorum so much observed; the match was therefore broken off. Historians do not assign the reason; but if we may credit the novelists of that time, the prince had already fixed his affections upon the French princess.

In fact, a match for this prince was soon after negotiated with Henrietta, who was the daughter of the great

Henry the Fourth ; and this met with better success than the former. However, the king had not the same allurements in prosecuting this match as the former, as the portion promised him was much smaller ; but, willing that his son should not be altogether disappointed of a bride, as the king of France demanded only the same terms which had been offered to the court of Spain, James consented to comply. In an article of his treaty of marriage, it was stipulated that the education of the children, till the age of thirteen, should belong to the mother ; and this probably gave that turn towards popery, which has since been the ruin of that unfortunate family.

Indeed a variety of causes seemed to conspire with their own imprudence to bring down upon them those evils which they afterwards experienced. The house of commons was by this time become quite unmanageable ; the prodigality of James to his favourites had made his necessities so many, that he was contented to sell the different branches of his prerogative to the commons, one after the other, to procure supplies. In proportion as they perceived his wants, they found out new grievances ; and every grant of money was sure to come with a petition for redress. The struggles between him and his parliament had been growing more and more violent every session ; and the last advanced their pretensions to such a degree, that he began to take the alarm ; but those evils, to which the weakness of this monarch had contributed to give birth, fell upon his successor.

These domestic troubles were attended by others still more important in Germany, and which produced in the end the most dangerous effects. The king's eldest daughter had been married to Frederic the elector palatine of Germany ; and this prince, having accepted the Bohemian crown from the rebellious subjects of the

emperor Ferdinand the Second, was defeated in a decisive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His affinity to the English crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the protestant religion for which he had contended, were strong motives for the people of England to wish well to his cause; and frequent addresses were sent from the commons to spur up James to take a part in the German contest, and to replace the exiled prince upon the throne of his ancestors. James at first attempted to ward off the misfortunes of his son-in-law by negotiations; but these proving utterly ineffectual, it was resolved at last to rescue the Palatinate from the emperor by force of arms. Accordingly war was declared A. D. against Spain and the emperor; six thousand 1624. men were sent over into Holland, to assist prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers; the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were satisfied with any war which was to exterminate the papists. This army was followed by another consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt; and the court of France promised its assistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views. The troops, sailing to Calais, found no orders for their admission. After waiting in vain for some time, they were obliged to sail towards Zealand, where no proper measures were yet taken for their disembarkation. Meanwhile a pestilential distemper crept in among the forces, so long cooped up in narrow vessels; half the army died while on board, and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too small a body to march into the Palatinate; and thus ended this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition.

Whether this misfortune had any effect upon the constitution of the king, is uncertain; but he was soon after seized with a tertian ague. When his courtiers assured

him from the proverb that it was health for a king, he replied, that the proverb was meant for a young king. After some fits, he found himself extremely weakened, and sent for the prince, whom he exhorted to persevere in the protestant religion; then preparing with decency Mar. 27, and courage to meet his end, he expired, after 1625. a reign over England of twenty-two years, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. With regard to foreign negotiations, James neither understood nor cultivated them; and perhaps in a kingdom so situated as England, domestic politics are alone sufficient. His reign was marked with none of the splendours of triumph, nor with any new conquests or acquisitions; but the arts were nevertheless silently going on to improvement. Reason was extending her influence, and discovering to mankind a thousand errors in religion, in morals, and in government, that had long been revered by blind submission. The Reformation had produced a spirit of liberty, as well as of investigation, among all ranks of mankind, and taught them that no precedents could sanctify fraud, tyranny, or injustice. James taught them by his own example to argue upon the nature of the king's prerogative and the extent of the subject's liberty. He first began by setting up the prescriptive authority of kings against the natural privileges of the people; but when the subject was submitted to a controversy, it was soon seen that the monarch's was the weaker side.

CHAPTER VII.

CHARLES I.

A. D. 1625—1641.

FEW princes have ascended a throne with more apparent advantages than Charles; and none ever encountered more real difficulties. The advantages were such as might flatter even the most cautious prince into security; the difficulties were such as no abilities could surmount. He found himself, upon coming to the crown, possessed of a peaceful and flourishing kingdom, his right undisputed, his power strengthened by an alliance with one of the most potent nations in Europe, his absolute authority tacitly acknowledged by one part of his subjects, and enforced from the pulpit by the rest. To add to all this, he was loved by his people, whose hearts he had gained by his virtues, his humility, and his candour.

But on the opposite side of the picture we are presented with a very different scene. Men had begun to think of the different rights of mankind, and found that all had an equal claim to the inestimable blessings of freedom. The spirit of liberty was roused; and it was resolved to oppose the ancient claims of monarchs, who usurped their power in times of ignorance or danger, and who pleaded in succeeding times their former encroachments as prescriptive privileges. Charles had been taught from his infancy to consider the royal prerogative as a sacred pledge, which it was not in his power to alienate, much less his duty to abridge. His father, who had contributed so much to sink the claims of the crown, had, nevertheless, boldly defended them in his writings, and taught his son to defend by the sword

what he had only inculcated by the press. Charles, though a prince of tolerable understanding, had not comprehension enough to see that the genius and disposition of his people had received a total change: he resolved therefore to govern, by old maxims and precedents, a people who had lately found out that these maxims were established in times of ignorance and slavery.

In the foregoing reigns, I have given very little of the parliamentary history of the times, which would have led me out of the way; but, in the present, it will be proper to point out the transactions of every parliament, as they make the principal figure in this remarkable æra, in which we see genius and courage united in opposing injustice, seconded by custom, and backed by power.

Charles undertook the reins of government with a fixed persuasion that his popularity was sufficient to carry every measure. He was burthened with a treaty for defending the Palatinate, concluded in the late reign; and the war declared for that purpose was to be carried on with vigour in this. But war was more easily declared than supplies were granted. After some reluctance, the commons voted him two subsidies; a sum far from being sufficient to support him in his intended equipment, to assist his brother-in-law; and to this was added a petition for punishing papists, and redressing the grievances of the nation. Buckingham, who had been the late king's favourite, and who was still more caressed by the present monarch, did not escape their censures; so that, instead of granting the sums requisite, they employed the time in disputations and complaints, till the season for prosecuting the intended campaign was elapsed. Charles, therefore, wearied with their delays, and offended at the refusal of his demands, thought proper to dissolve a parliament which he could not bring to reason.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourse to some of the ancient methods of extortion, practised by sovereigns when in necessitous circumstances. That kind of tax called a benevolence was ordered to be exacted, and privy-seals were issued accordingly. In order to cover the rigour of this step, it was commanded that none should be asked for money but such as were able to spare it ; and he directed letters to different persons, mentioning the sums he desired. With this the people were obliged, though reluctantly, to comply ; it was in fact authorised by many precedents ; but no precedents whatsoever could give a sanction to injustice.

With this money, a fleet was equipped against Spain, carrying ten thousand men ; the command of which army was intrusted to lord Wimbledon, who sailed directly to Cadiz, and found the bay full of ships of great value. But he failed in making himself master of the harbour, while his undisciplined army landing, instead of attacking the town, could not be restrained from indulging themselves in the wine, which they found in great abundance on shore. Farther stay therefore appeared fruitless ; they were re-embarked ; and the plague attacking the fleet soon afterwards, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of success, and return to England. Loud complaints were made against the court, for intrusting so important a command to a person who was judged so unqualified for the undertaking.

This ineffectual expedition was a great blow to the court : and, to retrieve the glory of the nation, another attempt was to be made, but with a more certain prospect of success. New supplies therefore being requisite, the king was resolved to obtain them in a more regular and constitutional manner than before. Another

A. D. parliament was accordingly called ; and though 1626. some steps were taken to exclude the more popular leaders of the last house of commons, by nominating them as sheriffs of counties, yet the present parliament seemed more refractory than the former. When the king laid before the house his necessities, and asked for a supply, they voted him only three subsidies, which amounted to about a hundred and sixty thousand pounds ; a sum no way adequate to the importance of the war, or the necessities of the state. But even this was not to be granted until the grievances of the state were redressed. Their chief indignation was leveled against Buckingham, a minister who had no real merit, and the great infelicity of being the king's favourite. Whenever the subjects resolve to attack the royal prerogative, they begin with the favourites of the crown ; and wise monarchs seldom have any. Charles was not possessed of the art of making a distinction between friends and ministers ; and whoever was his friend was always trusted with the administration of his affairs. He loved the duke, and undertook to protect him ; although to defend a person so obnoxious to the people, was to share his reproach. The commons undertook to impeach him in the lower house, while the earl of Bristol, who had returned from his embassy in Spain, accused him among his peers. The purport of the charge against him amounted to little more than that he had engrossed too much power for himself and his relations ; that he had neglected to guard the seas with the fleet ; and that he had applied a plaster to the late king's side, which was supposed to be poisonous, and to hasten his end. These frivolous accusations must have sunk of themselves, had they not been intemperately opposed by the royal authority. The king gave orders to the

lord-keeper to command the commons expressly in his name not to meddle with his minister and servant Buckingham. The more to enrage them, he had him elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and wrote that body a letter of thanks for their compliance. He assured the commons, that if they would not comply with his demands, he would try *new counsels*. But what justly enraged them beyond all sufferance, was, when two of their members, sir Dudley Digges and sir John Elliot, complained of this partiality in favour of a man odious to the nation, the king ordered both to be committed to prison for seditious behaviour. This was an open act of violence, and should have been supported, or never attempted.

It was now that the commons justly exclaimed that their privileges were infringed, and all freedom of debate destroyed. They protested in the most solemn manner, that neither of their members had said any thing disrespectful of the king; and they made preparations for publishing their vindication. The king, whose character it was to show a readiness to undertake harsh measures, but not to support them, released the two members; and this compliance confirmed that obstinacy in the house which his injuries had contributed to give rise to. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the same offence in the house of lords, was rashly imprisoned, and as tamely dismissed by the king. Thus, the two houses having refused to answer the intentions of the court without previous conditions, the king, rather than give up his favourite, chose to be without the supply, and therefore once more dissolved the parliament.

The new counsels which Charles had mentioned to the parliament were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. Instead of making peace with Spain, and thus trying to abridge his expenses, since he could

not enlarge his income, he resolved to carry on the war, and to keep up a standing army for this purpose. Perhaps, also, he had a farther view in keeping his army in pay, which was to seize upon the liberty of his subjects, when he found matters ripe for the execution. But at present his forces were new levied, ill-paid, and worse disciplined; so that the militia of the country, that could be instantly led out against him, were far his superiors. In order, therefore, to gain time and money, a commission was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for a dispensation of the penal laws against them. He borrowed a sum of money from the nobility, whose contributions came in but slowly, But the greatest stretch of his power was in the levying of *ship-money*. In order to equip a fleet (at least this was the pretence made), every maritime town was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm a certain number of vessels. The city of London was rated at twenty ships. This was the commencement of a tax, which afterwards, being carried to very violent lengths, created such great discontent in the nation. But the extortions of the ministry did not rest here. Persons of birth and rank, who refused the loan, were summoned before the council; and, upon persisting in a refusal, were put into confinement. Thus we see here, as in every civil war, something to blame on one side and the other; both sides guilty of injustice, yet each actuated by general motives of virtue; the one contending for the inherent liberties of mankind, the other for the prescriptive privileges of the crown; both driven to all the extremes of falsehood, rapine, and injustice, and, by a fate attendant on humanity, permitting their actions to degenerate from the motives which first set them in motion.

Hitherto the will of the monarch was reluctantly

obeyed : most of those who refused to lend their money were thrown into prison, and patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king for their release. Five persons alone undertook to defend the cause of the public ; and, at the hazard of their whole fortunes, were resolved to try whether the king legally had a right to confine their persons without an infringement of any law. The names of these patriots were sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Heveningham, and sir Edward Hampden. Their cause was brought to a solemn trial before the King's Bench, and the whole kingdom was attentive to the result of so important a trial.

By the debates on this subject it appeared Nov. that personal liberty had been secured by no 1626. less then six different statutes, and by an article of the Great Charter itself ; that in times of turbulence and sedition, the princes infringed those laws ; and of this also many examples were produced. The difficulty then lay to determine when such violent measures were expedient ; but of that the court pretended to be the supreme judge. As it was legal, therefore, that these five gentlemen should plead the statute, by which they might demand bail, so it was expedient in the court to remand them to prison, without determining on the necessity of taking bail for the present. This was a cruel evasion of justice, and, in fact, satisfied neither the court nor the country party. The court insisted that no bail could be taken : the country exclaimed that the prisoners should be set free.

The king being thus embroiled with his parliament, his people, and some of the most powerful foreign states, it was not without amazement that all men saw him enter into a war with France, a kingdom with A. D. which he had but lately formed the most natural 1627.

alliance. This monarch, among the follies of a good disposition, relied too much on the sincerity of his servants; and, among others, permitted Buckingham to lead him as he thought proper. All historians agree that this minister had conceived hopes of gaining the heart of the queen of France, while, at the same time, cardinal Richelieu aspired to the same honour. The rivalry of these favourites produced an inveterate enmity between them; and, from a private quarrel, they resolved to involve their respective nations in the dispute. However this be, war was declared against France; and Charles was taught to hope, that hostilities with that kingdom would be the surest means of producing unanimity at home.

But fortune seemed to counteract all this monarch's attempts. A fleet was sent out, under the command of Buckingham, to relieve Rochelle, a maritime town in France, that had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king, but which had for some years embraced the reformed religion, and now was besieged by a formidable army. This expedition was as unfortunate as that on the coast of Spain. The duke's measures were so ill concerted, that the inhabitants of the city shut their gates, and refused to admit allies, of whose coming they were not previously informed. Instead of attacking the island of Oleron, which was fertile and defenceless, he bent his course to the isle of Rhé, which was garrisoned, and well fortified. He attempted there to starve out the garrison of St. Martin's castle, which was copiously supplied with provisions by sea. By that time the French had landed their forces privately at another part of the island; so that Buckingham was at last obliged to retreat with such precipitation, that two thousand of his men were cut to pieces before he could re-embark, though he was the last of the whole army

that quitted the shore. This proof of his personal courage, however, was but a small subject of consolation for the disgrace which his country had sustained ; and his own person would have been the last they would have regretted.

The bad success of this expedition served to render the duke still more obnoxious, and the king more needy. He therefore resolved to call a third parliament ; A. D. for money was to be had at any rate. In his 1628. first speech, he intimated to the two houses, that they were convoked on purpose to grant the supplies ; and that, if they should neglect to contribute what was necessary for the support of the state, he would, in discharge of his conscience, use those means which God had put into his hands, for saving that which the folly of certain persons would otherwise endanger. But the king did not find his commons intimidated by his threats, or by those of the lord keeper, who commented upon what he said. They boldly inveighed, against his late arbitrary measures, forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonments, billeting soldiers, martial laws ; these were the grievances complained of, and against these they insisted that an eternal remedy should be provided. An immunity from these vexations they alleged to be the inherent right of the subject ; and their new demands they resolved to call a petition of right, as implying privileges they had already been possessed of. Nothing could be more just than the enactment of the contents of this petition of right. The Great Charter, and the old statutes, were sufficiently clear in favour of liberty ; but as all the kings of England, in cases of necessity or expediency, had been accustomed at intervals to elude them ; and as Charles, in a complication of instances, had lately violated them ; it was requisite to enact a new law, which

might not be eluded or violated by any authority, or any precedent to the contrary.

But though this was an equitable proposal, and though a ready compliance with it might have prevented many of the disorders that were about to ensue, Charles was taught to consider it as the most violent encroachment on his prerogative, and used at first every method to obstruct its progress. When he found that nothing but his assent would satisfy the house, he gave it; but at first in such an ambiguous manner as left him still in possession of his former power. At length, however, to avoid their indignation, and still more to screen his favourite, he thought proper to give them full satisfaction. He came therefore to the house of peers, and pronouncing the usual form of words, "*Soit fait comme il est désiré*, Let it be law as it is desired," he gave the petition of right all the sanction that was necessary to pass it into a law. The acclamations with which the house resounded, sufficiently testified the joy of the people; and a bill for five subsidies, which passed soon after, was the strongest mark of their gratitude.

But the commons, finding their perseverance crowned with success in this instance, were resolved to carry the scrutiny into every part of government which they considered as defective. The leaders of the house of commons at this time were very different from those illiterate barbarians who, a century or two before, came up to the capital, not to grant supplies, but to consider where supplies were to be procured; not to debate as legislators, but to receive commands as inferiors. The men of whom the present parliaments were composed, were persons of great knowledge and extensive learning, of undaunted courage and inflexible perseverance.

A little before the meeting of this parliament, a commission had been granted to thirty-three of the principal

officers of state, empowering them to meet and confer among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions or otherwise. The commons applied for canceling that commission; and indeed the late statute of the petition of rights seemed to render such a commission entirely unnecessary. They objected to another commission for raising money for the introduction of a thousand German horse, which, with just reason, they feared might be turned against the liberties of the people. They resumed also their censure of Buckingham, whom they resolved implacably to pursue. They also openly asserted, that the method of levying money used by the king, called tonnage and poundage, without the consent of parliament, was a palpable violation of the liberties of the people. All these grievances were preparing to be drawn up in a remonstrance to his majesty, when the king, hearing of their intentions, came suddenly to the house, and closed the session.

But they were not so easily to be intimidated in their schemes for the liberty of the people. They urged their claims with still more force on their next sitting; A. D. 1629. and the duty of tonnage and poundage was discussed with greater precision than before. This tax upon merchandise was a duty of very early institution, and had been conferred on Henry the Fifth, and all succeeding princes, during life, in order to enable them to maintain a naval force for the protection of the kingdom. But the parliament had usually granted it as of their special favour, in the beginning of each reign, except to Henry the Eighth, who had it not conferred on him by parliament till the sixth year of his sitting on the throne. Although he had continued to receive it from the beginning, yet he thought it necessary to have the sanction of parliament to ensure it to him; which certainly implied that it was not an inherent privilege of the

crown. Upon this argument the commons founded their objections to the levying of it in the present reign ; it was a tax which they had not yet granted, and it had been granted by them in every preceding reign. They refused, therefore, to grant it now ; and insisted that the king could not levy it without their permission.

This bred a long contest, as may be supposed, between the commons and the crown. The officers of the custom-house were summoned before the commons, to give an account by what authority they seized the goods of the merchants who had refused to pay these duties. The barons of the Exchequer were questioned with regard to their decrees on that head ; and the sheriff of London was committed to the Tower for his activity in supporting the custom-house officers. These were bold measures ; but the commons went still farther, by a resolution to examine into religious grievances ; and a new spirit of intolerance began to appear. The king, therefore, resolved to dismiss a parliament which he found himself unable to manage ; and sir John Finch, the speaker, just as the question concerning tonnage and poundage was going to be put, rose up, and informed the house that he had a command from the king to adjourn.

Nothing could exceed the consternation and indignation of the commons upon this information. Just at the time they were carrying their most favourite points to a bearing, to be thus adjourned, and the parliament dissolved, rendered them furious. The house was in an uproar ; the speaker was pushed back into his chair, and forcibly held in it by Holles and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than vote. In this hasty production, Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the state ; the obnoxious duty was condemned as contrary

to law ; and not only those who raised it, but those who paid it, were considered as guilty of a high crime.

In consequence of this violent procedure, sir Miles Hobart, sir Peter Hayman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode, were, by the king's order, committed to prison, under pretence of sedition. But the same temerity that impelled Charles to imprison them, induced him to grant them a release. Sir John Elliot, Holles, and Valentine, were summoned before the King's Bench ; but they refusing to appear before an inferior tribunal, for faults committed in a superior, were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay a fine, the two former of a thousand pounds each, and the latter of five hundred, and to find sureties for their good behaviour. The members triumphed in their sufferings, while they had the whole kingdom as spectators and applauders of their fortitude.

While the king was thus distressed by the obstinacy of the commons, he felt a much severer blow in the death of the duke of Buckingham, who fell a sacrifice to his unpopularity. It had been resolved once more to undertake the raising of the siege of Rochelle ; and the earl of Denbigh, brother-in-law to Buckingham, had been sent thither in the year 1628, but returned without effecting any thing. In order to repair this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham went in person to Portsmouth, to hurry on another expedition, and to punish such as had endeavoured to defraud the crown of the legal assessments. In the general discontent that prevailed against this nobleman, it was daily expected that some severe measures would be resolved on ; and he was stigmatised as the tyrant and the betrayer of his country. There was one Felton, who caught the general contagion, — an Irishman of a good family, who had served under the duke as lieutenant, but had resigned on being refus-

ed his rank on the death of his captain, who was killed at the isle of Rhé. This man was naturally melancholy, courageous, and enthusiastic ; he felt for his country, as if labouring under a calamity which he thought it in the power of his single arm to remove. He therefore resolved to kill the duke, and thus revenge his own private injuries, while he did service also to God and man. Animated in this manner with gloomy zeal and mistaken patriotism, he traveled down to Portsmouth alone, and entered the town while the duke was surrounded by his levee, and giving out the necessary orders for embarkation. He was at that time engaged in conversation with Soubise, and other French gentlemen ; and a difference of sentiment having arisen in the conference, it was attended with all those violent gesticulations with which foreigners generally enforce their meaning. The conversation being finished, the duke drew towards the door ; and while he was speaking to one of his colonels, Felton struck him over that officer's shoulder in the breast with his knife. The duke had only time to say, "The villain has killed me," when he fell at the colonel's feet, and instantly expired. No one had seen the blow, or the person who gave it ; but in the confusion it was generally supposed that he was murdered by one of the Frenchmen who appeared so violent in their motions but a little before. They were accordingly secured, as for certain punishment ; but in the mean time a hat was picked up, on the inside of which was sewed a paper containing four or five lines of the remonstrance of the commons against the duke ; and under these lines a short ejaculation, desiring aid in the attempt. It was now concluded that this hat must belong to the assassin ; and while they were employed in conjectures whose it could be, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door, and was heard to cry out,

"I am he." He disdained denying a murder in which he gloried; and averred that he looked upon the duke as an enemy to his country, and as such deserving to suffer. When asked at whose instigation he had performed that horrid deed, he answered, that they needed not trouble themselves in that inquiry; that his conscience was his only prompter; and that no man on earth could dispose him to act against its dictates. He suffered with the same degree of constancy to the last; and there were many who admired not only his fortitude, but the action for which he suffered.

The king had always the highest regard for Buckingham, and was extremely mortified at his death: he began to perceive that the tide of popularity was entirely turned from him, and that the behaviour of the house of commons only served to increase the general discontent. He felt therefore a disgust against parliaments; and he was resolved not to call any more, till he should see greater indications of a compliant disposition in the nation. Having lost his favourite, he became more his own minister, and never afterwards reposed such unlimited confidence in any other. But though the minister of the crown was changed, the measures still continued the same; the same disregard to the petitions of the people, the same desire of extending and supporting the prerogative, the same temerity, and the same weakness of condescension.

His first measure, however, now being left without a minister and a parliament, was a prudent one. He made peace with the two crowns against whom he had hitherto waged war, which had been entered upon without necessity, and conducted without glory. Being freed from these embarrassments, he bent his whole attention to the management of the internal policy of the kingdom, and took two men as his associates in this task,

who still acted an under-part to himself. These were sir Thomas Wentworth, whom he created earl of Strafford, and Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

Strafford, by his eminent talents and abilities, merited all the confidence which the king reposed in him. His character was stately and austere; more fitted to procure esteem than love; his fidelity to the king was unshaken; but, in serving the interests of the crown, he did not consider himself as an agent also for the benefit of the people. As he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he formerly endeavoured to diminish, his actions were liable to the imputation of self-interest and ambition; but his good character in private life made up for that seeming duplicity of public conduct.

Laud was in the church somewhat resembling Strafford in the state, rigid, severe, punctual, and industrious. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; and the forms, as established in the reign of queen Elizabeth, seemed essentially connected with it. His desire to keep these on their former footing was imprudent and severe; but it must be confessed that the furious opposition he met with was sufficient to excite his resentment.

Since the time of Elizabeth, a new religious sect had been gaining ground in England; and its members, from the supposed greater purity of their manners, were called Puritans. Of all other sects, this was the most dangerous to monarchy; and the tenets of it were more calculated to support that imagined equality which obtains in a state of nature. The partisans of this religion, being generally men of warm, obstinate tempers, pushed their sentiments into a total opposition to those of Rome; and, in the countries where their opinions had taken place, not only a religious but a political

freedom began to be established. All enthusiasts, indulging themselves in rapturous flights, ecstasies, visions, and inspirations, have a natural aversion to all ceremonies, rites, or forms, which are but external means of supplying that devotion which they want no prompter but their hearts to inspire. The same bold and daring spirit which accompanied them in their addresses to the Divinity, appeared in their political speculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which had hitherto been almost totally unknown in Europe, began to shoot forth in this ungracious soil. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that kings and bishops were eager to suppress the growth of opinions so unfavourable to their authority; and that Laud, who of all men alive was the most attached to ceremony and show, should treat with rigour men who braved him into severity. The truth is, that, in the histories of the times, we find the great cause of the present contest between the king and his people to arise not from civil but religious motives; not from a desire on the one hand of extending power, and on the other of promoting liberty; but merely from the ardour of the king in supporting bishops, surplices, and other ceremonies of the church, and the fury of the puritans in abolishing those distinctions as remnants of popish idolatry. Those distinctions in religion, at this day, are regarded with more unconcern; and, therefore, we are more apt to impute the disorders of those times to civil motives of establishing liberty, which, in reality, made but a very subordinate consideration.

The humour of the nation ran, at that time, into that extreme which was opposite to superstition; and these ancient ceremonies to which men had been accustomed in England, since the commencement of the Reformation, were in general considered as impious and idola-

upon him to take up the title of knighthood. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which was entitled *Histriomastix*, or a Scourge for the Stage. In this, besides much paltry declamation against the stage, he took occasion to blame the ceremonies and late innovations of the church; and this was an offence that Laud was

A. D. not likely to forgive. He was condemned by 1634. the Star-chamber to be degraded from the bar; to stand in the pillory, in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose his ears, one at each place; to pay five thousand pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned during life. This sentence, which was equally cruel and unjust, was rigorously executed; and Prynne gloried in his sufferings. Burton, a divine, and Bastwick, a physician, were tried before this tribunal for schismatical libels, in which they attacked, with great severity and intemperate zeal, the ceremonies of the church of England. They were condemned to the same punishment that had been inflicted upon Prynne; and Prynne himself was also tried for a new offence, for which he was fined five thousand pounds more, and sentenced to lose the remainder of his ears. The answers which these bold demagogues gave into court, were so full of contumacy and invective that no lawyer could be prevailed with to sign them. The rigours, however, which they underwent, being so unworthy of men of their profession, gave general offence; and the patience, or rather alacrity, with which they suffered, increased still farther the public indignation.

The puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, where they laid the foundations of a new government, agreeable to their systems of political freedom. But the government, unwilling that the nation should be deprived of its useful members, or

dreading the unpopularity of these emigrations, at length issued a proclamation, debarring these devotees from access even to those inhospitable regions. Eight ships, lying in the Thames, and ready to sail, were detained by order of council; and in these were embarked sir Arthur Haselrig, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell, who had resolved for ever to abandon their native country. This may stand as a proof of the sincerity these men afterwards testified in the cause for which they fought, and is a clear proof that hypocrisy, with which they were charged, in the beginning at least, was not among the motives of their opposition.

Every year, every month, every day, gave fresh instances, during this long intermission of parliaments, of the resolution of the court to throw them off for ever: but the levying of *ship-money*, as it was called, being a general burthen, was universally complained of as a national grievance. This was a tax which had, in former reigns, been levied without the consent of parliament; but then the exigency of the state demanded such a supply. As the necessity at present was not so apparent, and the impost might excite murmurs among the people, a question was proposed by the king to the judges, whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not levy this tax? and whether he was not sole judge of this necessity? To this the judges replied that he might; and that he was sole judge of the necessity. In this universal appearance of obedience to the king's injunctions, John Hampden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, refused to comply with the tax, and resolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty shillings for his estate, which he refused to pay; and the case was argued twelve days in the Exchequer-chamber before all the judges of England. The nation regarded,

with the utmost anxiety, the result of a trial that was to fix the limits of the king's power: but, after the former opinion of the judges on this subject, the event might A.D. have been easily foreseen. All the judges, four 1638. only excepted, gave sentence in favour of the crown; while Hampden, who lost his cause, was more than sufficiently recompensed by the applauses of the people. Nothing now was heard in every company but murmurs against the government, and encomiums on him who had withstood its usurpations. It was now alleged that tyranny was confirmed into system; and that there was no redress except in sullen patience or contented slavery. Ecclesiastical tyranny was thought to give aid to political injustice; and all the rights of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws, and purchased by the blood of so many heroes, now lay prostrate in undistinguished neglect. In this universal state of despondence, or clamour, an accident gave the people of England an opportunity of vindicating their ancient privileges, and even of acquiring greater than it was compatible with the subjects' happiness to possess.

The Scots had, during the reign of James the First, shown a strong attachment to puritanical principles; and though they still continued to allow of bishops, yet they were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James, indeed, had seen the low estate of episcopacy in that kingdom, and had endeavoured to exalt and establish it once more; but he died in the midst of his endeavours. It was the fate of Charles for ever to aim at projects which were at once impracticable and unnecessary; he resolved therefore to complete what his father had begun. This ill-judged attempt served to alienate the affections of his Scottish subjects, as much as his encroachments on liberty had rendered

him unpopular in England. The flame of sedition in Scotland passed from one town to another, while the puritans formed a *Covenant*, to support and defend their opinions, and resolved to establish their doctrines, or overturn the state. On the other hand, the king was determined to establish the liturgy of the church of England; and both sides being obstinate in opinion, those sanguinary measures were soon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the English.

The discontent and opposition which Charles met with in maintaining episcopacy among his English subjects might, one would think, deter him from attempting to introduce it among those of Scotland; but such was his ardour, that he was resolved to have it established in every part of his dominions. When he had published an order for reading the liturgy in their principal church in Edinburgh, the people received it with clamours and imprecations. The court party, indeed, with great justice, blamed their obstinacy, as the innovations were but trifling; but the people might have retorted with still greater force the folly of their thus earnestly attempting the establishment of trifles. The seditious disposition in that kingdom, which had hitherto been kept within bounds, was now too furious for restraint, and the insurrection became general over the country.

Yet still the king could not think of desisting from his design; and so prepossessed was he in favour of royal right, that he thought the very name of king, when forcibly urged, would induce the people to return to their duty. But he was soon undeceived; the puritans of Scotland were republicans in principle as well as those in England; and they only wished to see the bishops first humbled, in order to make a more

successful attack upon unguarded monarchy. Charles therefore finding them in arms, and that they insisted on displacing the bishops, considered their demands as an open declaration of war; and accordingly summoned such of the nobility of England as held lands of the crown, to furnish him with a proper number of forces to oppose them. To add to these supplies, he demanded a voluntary contribution from the clergy, as he was in fact fighting their cause; and by means of his queen, the catholics were also pressed for their assistance. By these methods he soon found himself at the head of an undisciplined and reluctant army,

A. D. amounting to about twenty thousand men, and 1639. commanded by generals less willing to fight than to negotiate. His superiority in numbers, however, gave him the manifest advantage over his rebellious subjects, who were no way slow in marching to give him battle. But Charles, who inherited the peaceable disposition of his father, was unwilling to come to extremities, although a blow then struck with vigour might have prevented many of his succeeding misfortunes. Instead of fighting with his opponents, he entered upon a treaty with them; so that a suspension of arms was soon agreed upon, and a treaty of peace concluded, which neither side intended to observe; and then both parties agreed to disband their forces. This step of disbanding the army was a fatal measure to Charles, as he could not levy a new army without great labour and expense; while the Scottish insurgents, who were all volunteers in the service, could be mustered again at pleasure. Of this the heads of the malcontents seemed sensible; for they lengthened out the negotiations with affected difficulties, and threw in obstructions in proportion as they were confident of their own superiority. At length, after much altercation, and many

treaties signed and broken, both parties once more had recourse to arms, and nothing but blood could satiate the contenders.

War being thus resolved on, the king took every method, as before, for raising money to support it. Ship-money was levied as usual ; some other arbitrary taxes were exacted from the reluctant people with great severity ; but one method of raising the supplies reflects immortal honour on those who contributed. The counsellors and servants of the crown lent the king whatever sums they could spare, and distressed their private fortunes to gratify their sovereign. These were the resources of the crown to prepare an army ; but they were far from being sufficient ; and there now remained only one method more, the long-neglected method of parliamentary supply.

It was now about eleven years since the king A. D. had called a parliament. The fierce and ungovernable spirit of the last had taught him to hate and to fear such an assembly ; but all resources being exhausted, and great debts contracted, he was obliged to call another parliament, from which he had no great reason to expect any favour. The many illegal and the numerous imprudent steps of the crown, the hardships which several persons had suffered, and their constancy in undergoing punishment, had as much alienated the affections of the king's English as of his Scottish subjects. Instead of supplies the king was harassed with murmurs and complaints. The zealous in religion were pleased with the distresses of the crown, in its attempts against their brethren in opinion ; and the real friends of the liberties of mankind saw, with their usual penetration, that the time was approaching when the royal authority must fall into a total dependence on popular

assemblies, when public freedom must acquire a full ascendant.

The house of commons could not be induced to treat the Scots, who were of the same principles with themselves, and contended against the same ceremonies, as enemies to the state. They regarded them as friends and brothers, who first rose to teach them a duty which it was incumbent on all virtuous minds to imitate. The king, therefore, could reap no other fruits from this assembly than murmurings and complaints. Every method he had taken to supply himself with money was declared an abuse, and a breach of the constitution. Tonnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of monopolies, the billeting soldiers upon refractory citizens, were all condemned as stretches of arbitrary power. The king, finding no hopes of redress, from the commons had recourse to the house of peers; but this was equally ineffectual with the former application. The king finding no hopes of a compliance with his request, but recrimination instead of redress, dissolved the parliament, to try more feasible methods of removing his necessities.

The king having now made enemies of his Scottish subjects by controlling them in their mode of worship, and of the commons by dissolving them, it remained to exasperate the city of London against him by some new imprudence. Upon their refusing to lend money to carry on the war against the Scots, he sued the citizens in the Star-chamber for some lands in Ireland, and made them pay a considerable fine. He continued also to exact all the taxes against which every former parliament had remonstrated; but all was insufficient. A loan of forty thousand pounds was extorted from the Spanish merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, ex-

posed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct money for the soldiers was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but supposed to be abolished by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the East India company upon trust, and sold at a great discount for ready money. A scheme was proposed for coining two or three hundred thousand pounds of base money; and yet all these methods were far from being effectual. The Scots, therefore, sensible of the extremities to which he was reduced, led on an army of twenty thousand men as far as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to lay their grievances before their sovereign, as they were pleased to term their rebellion. One of the most disgusting strokes in the puritanical character of the times, was this gentle language, and humble cant, in the midst of treason, and their flattery to their prince while they were attempting to dethrone and destroy him.

To these troops, inspired by religion, flushed with some slight victories obtained over straggling parties of the royalists, and encouraged by the English themselves, among whom they continued, the king was able only to oppose a smaller force, new-levied, undisciplined, seditious, and ill paid. Being, therefore, in despair of stemming the torrent, he at last yielded to it. He first summoned a great council of peers to York; and, as he foresaw that they would advise him to call a parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken that resolution. Having thus prepared for his misfortunes, he a short time after called that Nov. 3, long parliament which did not discontinue sitting till his ruin had been accomplished. 1640.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARLES I. (Continued.)

A. D. 1641—1642.

THE ardent expectations of men with regard to a parliament, at such a critical juncture, and during such general discontent, might naturally engage the attendance of the members on their duty. The house of commons was never, from its first institution, observed to be so numerous, or the assiduity of its members greater. Without any interval, therefore, they entered upon business; and, by unanimous consent, they struck a blow that might be regarded as decisive. Instead of granting the demanded subsidies, they impeached the earl of Strafford, the king's first minister, of high-treason. Pym, a tedious but sensible speaker, who at first opened the accusation against him in the house of commons, was sent up to defend it at the bar of the house of lords; and most of the house accompanied their member on so agreeable an errand.

A. D. To bestow the greatest solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster-Hall, where both houses sat, the one as judges, the other as accusers. Beside the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment against him were twenty-eight in number; the substance of which was, that he had attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and had been guilty of several exactions in Ireland. But though four months were employed by the managers in framing the accusation, yet there appears very little just cause of blame in

him, since the stretches of the king's power were made before he came into authority. However, the managers of the house of commons pleaded against him with vehemence stronger than their reasons, and summed up their arguments by insisting, that though each article, taken separately, did not amount to a proof, yet the whole taken together might be fairly concluded to carry conviction. This is a method of arguing frequently used in the English courts of justice even to this day; and perhaps none can be more erroneous; for almost every falsehood may be found to have a multiplicity of weak reasons to support it. In this tumult of aggravation and clamour, the earl himself, whose parts and wisdom had been long respectable, stood unmoved and undaunted. He defended his cause with all the presence of mind, judgement, and sagacity, that could be expected from innocence and ability. His children were placed beside him, as he was thus defending his life and the cause of his master. After he had, in a long and eloquent speech, delivered without premeditation, confuted all the accusations of his enemies; after he had endeavoured to show that, during his government in Ireland, he had introduced the arts of peace among the savage part of the people, and that, if his measures in England were harsh, he had been driven into them by necessity; after he had clearly refuted the argument upon the accumulated force of his guilt, he thus drew to a conclusion; "But, my lords, I have troubled you too long; longer than I should have done, but for the sake of these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me."—Upon this he paused, dropped a tear, looked upon his children, and proceeded:—"What I forfeit for myself is a trifle; that my indiscretions should reach my posterity, wounds me to the heart.—Pardon my infirmity.—Something I should have added, but am not

able; therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself; I have long been taught that the afflictions of this life are overpaid by that eternal weight of glory which waits the innocent; and so, my lords, even so with the utmost tranquillity, I submit myself to your judgement, whether that judgement be life or death; not my will, but thine, O God, be done!" His eloquence and innocence induced those judges to pity who were the most zealous to condemn him. The king himself went to the house of lords, and spoke for some time in his defence; but the spirit of vengeance, that had been chained for eleven years, was now roused, and nothing but his blood could give the people satisfaction. He was found guilty by both houses of parliament; and nothing remained but for the king to give his consent to the bill of attainder. But, in the present commotions, the consent of the king was a thing that would very easily be dispensed with; and imminent dangers might attend his refusal. Yet still Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, hesitated and seemed reluctant, trying every expedient to put off so dreadful a duty as that of signing the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his doubts were at last silenced by an act of heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He received a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, desiring that his life might be made the sacrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people; adding, that he was prepared to die, and to a willing mind there could be no injury. This instance of noble generosity was ill repaid by his master, who complied with his request. He consented to the signing the fatal bill by commission; Strafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, behaving with all that composed dignity of resolution that was expected from his character. The people, taught by his death to trample

upon the rights of humanity, soon after resolved to shed blood that was still more precious.

But the commons did not stop their impeachments here. Laud also, after a deliberation which did not continue half an hour, was considered as sufficiently culpable to incur the same accusation, and was committed to custody. Finch, the lord-keeper, was also impeached; but he had the precaution to make his escape, and retire into Holland, as did sir Francis Windebank, the secretary, into France.

The crown being thus deprived of the services of its ministers, the commons next proceeded to attack the few privileges it still possessed. During the late military operations, several powers had been exerted by the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, who were all under the influence of the crown. These were, therefore, voted *Delinquents*; a term now first used to signify transgressors whose crimes were not as yet ascertained by law. The sheriffs also, who had obeyed the king's mandate in raising ship-money, were voted to be delinquents. All the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been employed during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage, were subjected to the same imputation, and only purchased their safety by paying a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Every discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the Star-chamber and High-commission courts underwent a severe scrutiny; and all those who had any hand in such sentences were voted to be liable to the penalties of the law. The judges who had declared against Hampden, in the trial of ship-money, were accused before the peers, and obliged to find security for their appearance. All those monopolies which had been lately granted by the crown were now annihilated by the order of the commons; and they carried their detestation of that grievance so far as

to expel from their own house all such members as had been monopolists or projectors.

Hitherto we have seen the commons in some measure the patrons of liberty and of the people; boldly opposing the stretches of illegal power, or repressing those claims which, though founded on custom, were destructive of freedom. Thus far their aims, their struggles, were just and honourable: but the general passions of the nation were now excited; and, having been once put into motion, they soon passed the line, and knew not where to stop. Had they been contented with resting here, after abridging all those privileges of monarchy which were capable of injuring the subject, and leaving it all those prerogatives that could benefit, they would have been considered as the great benefactors of mankind, and would have left the constitution nearly on the same footing on which we enjoy it at present. But they either were willing to revenge their former sufferings, or thought that some terrible examples were necessary to deter others from attempting to enslave their country. The horrors of a civil war were not sufficiently attended to; and they precipitately involved the nation in calamities which they themselves were the first to repent.

The whole nation was thrown into a general ferment. The harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the horrors which were felt for the late administration. The pulpits, delivered over to the puritanical preachers, whom the commons arbitrarily placed in all considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. The press, freed from all fear or restraint, swarmed with productions, dangerous by their sedition and calumny more than by their eloquence or style.

In this universal uproar against the crown, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who had some years before suf-

ferred so severely for their licentious abuses, and had been committed to remote prisons, were set at liberty by order of the commons, and were seen making their triumphant entry into the capital. Bastwick had been confined in Scilly, Prynne in Jersey, and Burton in Guernsey; and, upon landing at their respective places, they were received by the acclamations of the people, and attended by crowds to London. Boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession; the roads were strewn with flowers, their sufferings were aggravated, and their persecutors reviled. All persons who had been punished for seditious libels during the foregoing administration, now recovered their liberty, and had damages given them upon those who had decreed their punishment.

Grievances, no doubt, and heavy ones, had been endured during the intermission of parliament; but the very complaints against them now became one of the greatest grievances. So many were offered within doors, and petitioned against without, that the house was divided into above forty committees, charged each of them with the examination of its respective complaints. The torrent rising to so dreadful and unexpected a height, despair seized all those who, from interest or habit, were attached to monarchy; while the king himself saw, with amazement, the whole fabric of government overturned. "You have taken," said he to the parliament, "the whole machine of government to pieces; a practice frequent with skilful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels from any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine may be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be fitted up entire, so as not a pin be wanting." But the commons, in their present temper, were much better adapted to destroy than to fit up; and

castle of Dublin, the plot was discovered by one O'Connell, an Irishman, but a protestant, to the justices, who fled to the castle, and alarmed all the protestant inhabitants of the city to prepare for their defence. Macguire was taken, but More escaped; and new informations being every hour added to those already received, the project of a general insurrection was no longer a secret.

But though the citizens of Dublin had just time enough to save themselves from danger, the protestants, dispersed over the different parts of the country, were taken unprepared. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to massacre a people whom they hated for their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The insurrections of a civilised people are usually marked with very little cruelty; but the revolt of a savage nation generally aims at extermination. The Irish accordingly resolved to cut off all the protestants of the kingdom at a stroke; so that neither age, sex, nor condition, received any pity. In such indiscriminate slaughter, neither former benefits, nor alliances, nor authority, were any protection: numberless were the instances of friends murdering their intimates, relations their kinsmen, and servants their masters. In vain did flight save from the first assault; destruction, which had an extensive spread, met the hunted victims at every turn. Not only death but studied cruelties were inflicted on the unhappy sufferers; the very avarice of the revolvers could not restrain their thirst for blood, and they burned the inhabitants in their own houses, to increase their punishment. Several hundreds were driven upon a bridge, and thence obliged, by these barbarians, to leap into the water, where they were drowned.

The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster; but in the other provinces the rebels pretended to act with great humanity. The protestants were driven there from their houses, to meet the severity of the weather, without food or raiment; and numbers of them perished with the cold, which happened at that time to be peculiarly severe. By some computations, those who perished by all these cruelties are made to amount to a hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand; but, by a moderate computation, they could not have been less than forty thousand.

In the mean time, the English Pale, as it was called, consisting of the old English catholics who had first come over, joining with the native Irish, a large army was formed, amounting to above twenty thousand men, which threatened a total extermination of the English power in that island. The king was in Scotland when he received the first account of this rebellion: and though he did all in his power to induce his subjects there to lend assistance to the protestant cause, he found them totally averse to sending any succours into Ireland. Their aim was to oblige the parliament of England with what succours they could spare, and not to obey the injunctions of their sovereign. They went still farther, and had the assurance to impute a part of these dreadful massacres to the king's own contrivance. In fact, the rebels of Ireland did not fail to show a royal patent, authorising their attempts; and it is said that sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in the house of lord Caulfield, whom he had murdered, tore off the seal, and affixed it to a commission which he had forged for himself.

However this be, the king took all the precautions in his power to show his utter detestation of these bloody proceedings; and being sensible of his own inability

to suppress the rebellion, he had once more recourse to his English parliament, and craved their assistance for a supply. But here he found no hopes of assistance; many insinuations were thrown out, that he had himself fomented this rebellion, and no money could be spared for the extinction of distant dangers when they pretended that the kingdom was threatened with greater at home.

It was now that the republican spirit began to appear without any disguise in the present parliament; and that party, instead of attacking the faults of the king, resolved to destroy monarchy. They had seen a republican system of government lately established in Holland, and attended with very noble effects; they began therefore to wish for a similar system at home; and many productions of the press at that time sketched out the form. It would be unjust to deny these men the praise of being guided by honest motives; but it would be unwise not to say also, that they were swayed by wrong ones. In the comparison between a republic and a limited monarchy, the balance entirely inclines to the latter, since a real republic never yet existed, except in speculation; and that liberty which demagogues promise to their followers, is generally only sought after for themselves. The aim in general of popular leaders is rather to depress the great than exalt the humble; and, in such governments, the lower ranks of people are too commonly the most abject slaves. In a republic, the number of tyrants are capable of supporting each other in their injustice; while in a monarchy there is one object, who, if he offends, is easily punishable, and ought to be brought to justice.

The leaders of the opposition began their operations by a resolution to attack episcopacy, which was one of the strongest bulwarks of the royal power; but previously framed a remonstrance, in which they summed

up all their former grievances. These they ascribed to a regular system of tyranny in the king, and asserted that they amounted to a total subversion of the constitution. This, when drawn up by a tumultuous majority of the house, they ordered to be printed and published, without being carried up, as is usual in such cases, to the house of peers, for their assent and approbation. The commons, having thus endeavoured to render the king's administration universally odious, began upon the hierarchy. Their first measure was, by their own single authority, to suspend all the laws which had been made for the observance of public worship. They particularly forbade bowing at the name of Jesus. They complained of the king's filling five vacant bishoprics; and considered it as an insult upon them, that he should complete and strengthen an order which they were resolved to abolish. They accused thirteen bishops of high treason, for enacting canons without the consent of parliament; and endeavoured to prevail upon the house of peers to exclude all the prelates from their seats and votes in that august assembly. But, notwithstanding all their efforts, the lords refused their concurrence to this law, and to all such as any way tended to the farther limitation of royal authority. The majority of the peers adhered to the king; and plainly foresaw the depression of the nobility as a necessary consequence of the popular usurpations on the crown. The commons murmured at their refusal, mixed threats with their indignation, and began, for the first time, to insinuate that the business of the state could be carried on without them.

In order to intimidate the lords into their measures, the populace were let loose to insult and threaten them. Multitudes of people flocked every day towards Westminster, and insulted the prelates and such lords as

adhered to the crown. Some seditious apprentices being seized and committed to prison, the house of commons immediately ordered them to be set free. Encouraged by the countenance of the house, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out insolent menaces against the king himself. It was at this time that several reduced officers, and students of the inns of court, offered their services to the king, to repress the rioters; and many frays ensued, not without bloodshed. The rabble, by way of reproach, were called Roundheads, from the manner of wearing their hair; and the gentlemen, Cavaliers. These names afterwards served to distinguish the partisans of either side, and served still more to divide the nation.

The fury of the commons, and also of the populace, did not fail to intimidate the bishops: they saw the storm that was gathering against them; and, probably to avert its effects, they resolved to attend their duty in the house of lords no longer; but drew up a protest, which was signed by twelve of them, in which they declared, that, being hindered by the populace from attending at the house of lords, they resolved to go there no more till all commotions should be appeased; protesting, in the mean time, against all such laws as should be enacted in their absence.

This secession of the bishops from the house of lords was what the commons most ardently wished for; and they seized the opportunity with pleasure. An impeachment of high-treason was immediately sent up against them, as guilty of subverting the fundamental laws, and invalidating the legislative authority. In consequence of this, they were by the lords excluded from parliament, and committed to custody; no man in either house daring to speak a word in their vindication. One of the lords, indeed, was heard to say, that

he did not believe they were guilty of treason, but thought they were mad, and therefore were fitter for confinement than a seat in parliament.

This was a fatal blow to the royal interest; but it soon felt a much greater from the king's own imprudence. Charles had long suppressed his resentment, and only strove to satisfy the commons by the greatness of his concessions; but, finding that all his compliance had but increased their demands, he could no longer contain. He gave orders to Herbert, his attorney-general, to enter an accusation of high A. D. treason, in the house of peers, against lord Kimbolton, one of the most popular men of his party, together with five commoners, sir Arthur Haselrig, Holles, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had invited a foreign army to invade the kingdom; that they had aimed at subverting the very rights and being of parliaments, and had actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king. Men had scarcely leisure to wonder at the precipitancy and imprudence of this impeachment, when they were astonished by another measure, still more rash and more unsupported. A serjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the house the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. This was followed by a conduct still more extraordinary. The next day the king himself was seen to enter the house of commons alone, advancing through the hall, while all the members stood up to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. Having seated himself, and looked round for some time, he told the house that he was sorry

for the occasion that forced him thither; that he was come in person to seize the members whom he had accused of high-treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his serjeant at arms. Addressing himself to the speaker, he desired to know whether any of them were in the house; but the speaker, falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him; and he asked pardon for being able to give no other answer. He then sat for some time, to see if the accused were present; but they had escaped a few minutes before his entry. Thus disappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded, amidst the clamours of the populace, who continued to cry out "Privilege! privilege!" to the common-council of the city, and made his complaint to them. The common-council only answered his complaint with a contemptuous silence; and on his return one of the populace, more insolent than the rest, cried out, "To your tents, O Israel!" a watch-word among the Jews, when they intended to abandon their princes.

When the commons were assembled the next day, they affected the greatest terror, and passed an unanimous vote that the king had violated their privileges, and they could not assemble again in the same place till they should have obtained satisfaction, with a guard for their security. They ascribed the last measure of the king to the counsels of the papists; and the city was thus filled with groundless consternation.

As the commons had artfully kept up their panic, in order to inflame the populace, and as the city was now only one scene of confusion, the king, afraid of exposing himself to any fresh insult from the fury of the populace, retired to Windsor, overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse. There he began to reflect on the rashness of

his former proceedings, and now too late resolved to make some atonement. He therefore wrote to the parliament, informing them that he desisted from his former proceedings against the accused members; and assured them, that upon all occasions he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown. Thus his former violence had rendered him hateful to his commons, and his present submission now rendered him contemptible.

The commons had already stripped the king of almost all his privileges; the bishops were fled, the judges were intimidated; it now only remained that, after securing the church and the law, they should get possession of the sword also. The power of appointing governors, generals, and levying armies, was still a remaining prerogative of the crown. Having, therefore, first magnified their terrors of popery, which perhaps they actually dreaded, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands, and that Hull, Portsmouth, and the fleet, should be intrusted to persons of their choosing. These were requests, the complying with which would level all that remained of the ancient constitution: however, such was the necessity of the times, that they were at first contested, and then granted. At last, every compliance only increasing the avidity of making fresh demands, the commons desired to have a militia raised, and governed by such officers and commanders as they should nominate, under pretext of securing them from the Irish papists, of whom they were in great apprehensions.

It was here that Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. He was at that time at Dover, attending the queen and the princess of Orange, who had thought it prudent to leave the kingdom. He replied to the pe-

tition of the commons, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of such great importance, and therefore would defer an answer till his return. But the commons were well aware, that, though this was depriving him even of the shadow of power, yet they had now gone too far to recede, and were therefore desirous of leaving him no authority whatsoever, as being conscious that themselves would be the first victims to its fury. They alleged that the dangers and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and that, unless the king would speedily comply with their demands, they should be obliged, both for his safety and that of the kingdom, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly. In their remonstrances to the king they desired even to be permitted to command the army for an appointed time; which so exasperated him that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour!" This peremptory refusal broke off all farther treaty; and both sides were now resolved to have recourse to arms.

Charles, taking the prince of Wales with him, retired to York, where he found the people more loyal, and less infected with the religious phrensy of the times. He found his cause there backed by a more numerous party than he had expected among the people. The queen, who was in Holland, was making successful levies of men and ammunition, by selling the crown jewels. But before war was openly declared, the shadow of a negotiation was carried on, rather to serve as a pretence to the people than with a real design of reconciliation. The king offered proposals to the commons which he knew they would not accept; and they in return submitted nineteen propositions to his consideration, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely subservient to their commands. Their import was, that

the privy-council, the principal officers of state, the governors of the king's children, the commanders of the forts, his fleet, and army, should be all appointed by, and under the control of, parliament; that papists should be punished by their authority; that the church and liturgy should be reformed at their discretion; and that such members as had been displaced should be restored. These proposals, which, if they had been complied with, would have moulded the government into an aristocracy, were, happily for posterity, rejected by the king. "Should I grant these demands," said he in his reply, "I might be waited on bareheaded; I might have my hand kissed, the title of majesty be continued to me, and the king's authority, signified by both houses of parliament, might be still the style of your commands; I might have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead): but, as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign, of a king." War on any terms, therefore, was esteemed preferable to such an ignominious peace. Thus the king and his parliament reproached each other for beginning a scene of slaughter, of which both were equally culpable.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARLES I. (Continued.)

A. D. 1642—1646.

No period since England began could show so many instances of courage, abilities, and virtue, as the present fatal opposition called forth into action. Now was the

time when talents of all kinds, unchecked by authority, were called from the lower ranks of life, to dispute for power and pre-eminence. Both sides, equally confident of the justice of their cause, appealed to God to judge of the rectitude of their intentions. The parliament was convinced that it fought for Heaven; by asserting its regards for a peculiar mode of worship; and the king was not less convinced that his claims were sacred, as he had ever been taught to consider them as of divine original. Thus passion and enthusiasm on each side animated the combatants; and courage rather than conduct, among these undisciplined troops, decided the fortune of the day.

Never was contest more apparently unequal than this seemed at first to be; the king being almost destitute of every advantage. His revenue had been seized by his opponents: all the sea-port towns were in their hands, except Newcastle; and thus they were possessed of the customs which these could supply; the fleet was at their disposal; all magazines of arms and ammunition were seized for their use; and they had the wishes of all the most active members of the nation.

To oppose this, the king had that acknowledged reverence which was paid to royalty, to give sanction to his cause. The greater part of the nobility adhered to him, as their distinctions must rise or fall with the source of honour. Most of the men of education also, and the ancient gentry, still considered loyalty as a virtue, and armed their tenants and servants in his cause. With

Aug. 22, these followers and hopes he resolved to take 1642. the field, and erected the royal standard at Nottingham.

Manifestoes on the one side and the other were now dispersed throughout the kingdom; and the whole nation composed two factions, distinguished by the names

of Cavaliers and Roundheads. The king, to bind himself by the most solemn engagements to his people, made the following protestation before his whole army :

“ I do promise, in the presence of almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion established in the church of England ; and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

“ I desire that the laws may be ever the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just rights. And if it please God, by his blessing on this army raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom ; and particularly to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent this parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergence, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it will be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war, not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom.

“ When I willingly fail in these particulars, I shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any protection from above. But in this resolution I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of the blessing of Heaven.”

The sincerity with which this speech was delivered, and the justice of its contents, served to strengthen the king's cause. At first he appeared in a very low condition ; besides the trained bands of the county, raised

by sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not assembled above three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which composed his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. Indeed, he was soon reinforced; but not being then in a condition to face his enemies, he thought it prudent to retire by slow marches to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those quarters.

In the mean time his enemies were not remiss in preparations. They had a magazine of arms at Hull; and sir John Hotham was appointed governor of that place by the parliament. Charles had some time before presented himself before that town, but was refused admission; and from this they drew their principal resources. The forces also, which had been every where raised on pretence of the service of Ireland, were now more openly enlisted by the parliament for their own purposes; and the command was given to the earl of Essex, a bold man, who rather desired to see monarchy abridged than totally destroyed. In London no less than four thousand men were enlisted in one day; and the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general. Orders were also issued out for loans of money and plate, which were to defend the king and both houses of parliament; for they still preserved this style. This brought immense quantities of plate to the treasury; and so great was men's ardour in the cause, that there was more than they could find room for. By these means they found themselves in a short time at the head of sixteen thousand men; and the earl of Essex led them towards Northampton against the king.

The army of the royalists did not equal that of Essex.

in number; however, it was supposed to be better disciplined, and better conducted. The two sons of the unfortunate elector Palatine, prince Rupert and prince Maurice, offered to the king their services, which were gladly accepted. A slight advantage gained by prince Rupert over colonel Sandys, in the beginning, gave great hopes of his future activity, and inspired the army with resolution to hazard a battle. So little were both armies skilled in the arts and stratagems of war, that they were within six miles of each other before they were acquainted with their mutual approach; and, what is remarkable, they had been ten days within twenty miles of each other without knowing it.

Edge-hill was the first place where the two armies were put in array against each other, and the country first drenched in civil slaughter. It was a dreadful sight, to see above thirty thousand of the bravest men in the world, instead of employing their courage abroad, turning it against each other, while the dearest friends, and the nearest kinsmen embraced opposite sides, and prepared to bury their private regards in factious hatred. In the beginning of this engagement, sir Faithful Fortescue, who had levied a troop for the Irish war, but had been obliged to serve in the parliamentary army, deserted to the royalists, and so intimidated the parliamentary forces, that the whole body of cavalry fled. The right wing of their army followed their example; but, the victors too eagerly pursuing, Essex's body of reserve wheeled upon the rear of the pursuers, and made great havoc among them. After the royalists had a little recovered from their surprise, they made a vigorous stand; and both sides for a time stood gazing at each other, without sufficient courage to renew the attack. They all night lay under arms, and next morning found them-

selves in sight of each other. This was the time for the king to strike a decisive blow : he lost the opportunity ; and both sides separated with equal loss. Five thousand men are said to have been found dead on the field of battle.

It would be tedious, and no way instructive, to enter into the marchings and counter-marchings of these undisciplined and ill-conducted armies : war was a new trade to the English, as they had not seen a hostile engagement in the island for near a century before. The queen came to reinforce the royal party ; she had brought soldiers and ammunition from Holland, and immediately departed to procure more. But the parliament, who knew its own strength, felt no discouragement. Their demands seemed to increase in proportion to their losses ; and, as they were repressed in the field, they grew more haughty in the cabinet. Such governors as gave up their fortresses to the king were attainted of high treason. It was in vain for the king to send proposals after any success ; this only raised their pride and their animosity. But though this desire in the king to make peace with his subjects was the highest encomium on his humanity, yet his long negotiations, one of which he carried on at Oxford, were faulty as a warrior. He wasted that time in altercation and treaty which he should have employed in vigorous exertions in the field.

However, the first two campaigns, upon the whole, wore a favourable aspect. One victory followed another : A. D. Cornwall was reduced to peace and obedience 1643. under the king : a victory was gained over the parliamentarians at Stratton-hill, in Devonshire ; another at Roundway-down near the Devizes ; and a third in Chalgrave-field. Bristol was besieged and taken ; and Gloucester was besieged ; the battle of Newbury was

favourable to the royal cause; and great hopes of success were formed from an army in the north, raised by the marquis of Newcastle.

But, in the second of these campaigns, the two bravest and greatest men of their respective parties were killed; as if it was intended, by the kindness of Providence, that they should be exempted from seeing the miseries and the slaughter which were shortly to ensue. These were John Hampden, and Lucius Cary, lord Falkland.

In an incursion made by prince Rupert to within about two miles of the enemy's quarters, a great booty was obtained. This the parliamentarians attempted to rescue; and Hampden, at their head, overtook the royalists in Chalgrave-field. As he ever was the first to enter into the thickest of the battle, he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. Some days after he died in great pain; nor could his whole party, had their army met a total overthrow, have been cast into greater consternation. Even Charles, his enemy, felt for his disaster, and offered his own surgeon to assist his cure. Hampden, whom we have seen, in the beginning of these troubles, refuse to pay ship-money, gained, by his inflexible integrity, the esteem even of his enemies. To these he added affability in conversation, temper, art, eloquence in debate, and penetration in council.

But Falkland was a still greater loss, and a greater character. He added to Hampden's severe principles a politeness and elegance but then beginning to be known in England. He had boldly withstood the king's pretensions while he saw him making a bad use of his power; but when he perceived the design of the parliament to overturn the religion and the constitution of his country, he changed his side, and steadfastly attached himself to the crown. From the

beginning of the civil war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity forsook him; he became melancholy, sad, pale, and negligent of his person. When the two armies were in sight of each other, and preparing for the battle of Newbury, he appeared desirous of terminating his life, since he could not compose the miseries of his country. Still anxious for his country alone, he dreaded the too prosperous success of his own party as much as that of the enemy; and he professed that its miseries had broken his heart. His usual cry among his friends, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, was, "Peace! Peace!" He now said, upon the morning of the engagement, that he was weary of the times, and should leave them before night. He was shot by a musket-ball in the belly; and his body was next morning found among a heap of slain. His writings, his eloquence, his justice, and his courage, deserved such a death of glory; and they found it.

The king, that he might make preparations during the winter for the ensuing campaign, and to oppose the designs of the Westminster parliament, called one at Oxford; and this was the first time that England saw A. D. two parliaments sitting at the same time. His 1644. house of peers was pretty full; his house of commons consisted of about a hundred and forty, which amounted to not above half of the other house of commons. From this shadow of a parliament he received some supplies; after which it was prorogued, and never after assembled. In the mean time the parliamentary leaders were equally active on their side. They passed an ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause. But, what was much more effectual, the Scots, who considered their claims as similar,

led a strong army to their assistance. The two houses levied an army of fourteen thousand men in the east under the earl of Manchester; they had an army of ten thousand men under Essex, and another of nearly the same force under sir William Waller. These were superior to any force the king could bring into the field, and were well appointed with ammunition, provisions, and pay.

Hostilities, which even during the winter season had not been wholly discontinued, were renewed in the spring with their usual fury, and served to desolate the kingdom without deciding victory. Each county joined that side to which it was addicted from motives of conviction, interest, or fear. Some, however, petitioned for peace; and all the wise and good were earnest in the cry. What particularly deserves remark, was an attempt of the women of London, who, to the number of two or three thousand, went in a body to the house of commons, earnestly demanding peace. "Gave us those traitors," said they, "that are against peace; give them, that we may tear them in pieces." The guards found some difficulty in quelling this insurrection, and one or two women lost their lives in the fray.

The battle of Marston-moor was the beginning of the king's misfortunes and disgrace. The Scots and parliamentary army had joined, and were besieging York, when prince Rupert, joined by the marquis of Newcastle, determined to raise the siege. Both sides drew up on Marston-moor, to the number of fifty thousand, and the victory seemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royalists, was opposed by Oliver Cromwell, who now first came into notice, at the head of a body of troops whom he had taken care to levy and discipline. Crom-

well was victorious; he pushed his opponents off the field, followed the vanquished, returned to a second engagement and a second victory; the prince's whole train of artillery was taken; and the royalists sustained irreparable injury.

While the king was unfortunate in the field, he was not more successful in negotiation. A treaty was begun at Uxbridge, which, like all others, came to no A. D. thing. The puritans demanded a total abolition 1645. of the episcopacy and all church ceremonies; and this Charles, from conviction, from interest, and persuasion, was not willing to permit. He had all along adhered to the episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all his adherents were passionately devoted to it. He esteemed bishops as essential to the Christian church; and thought himself bound, not only by temporal but sacred ties, to defend them. The parliament was as obstinately bent upon removing this order; and, to show their resolution, began with the foremost of the number.

William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, as we have already seen, had been imprisoned in the Tower at the same time with Strafford; and he had patiently endured so long a confinement without being brought to any trial. He was now, therefore, accused of high-treason, in endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanours. The groundless charge of popery, which his life and afterwards his death belied, was urged against him. In his defence he spoke several hours with that courage which seems the result of innocence and integrity. The lords, who were his judges, appeared willing to acquit him: but the commons, his accusers, finding how his trial was likely to go, passed an ordinance for his exe-

cution, and terrified the lords, who continued obstinate, to give their consent. Seven peers alone voted in this important question; all the rest, either from shame or fear, did not appear. When brought to the scaffold, this venerable prelate, without any terror, but in the usual tone of his exhortations from the pulpit, made the people a long speech. He told them that he had examined his heart; and thanked God that he found no sins there which deserved the death he was going to suffer. The king, he said, had been traduced by some, as labouring to introduce popery; but he believed him as sound a protestant as any man in the kingdom; and as for parliaments, though he disliked the conduct of one or two, yet he never designed to change the laws of his country, or the protestant religion. After he had prayed for a few minutes, the executioner severed his head at a blow. It is a melancholy consideration, that, in these times of trouble, the best men were those on either side who chiefly suffered.

The death of Laud was followed by a total alteration of the ceremonies of the church. The Liturgy was, by a public act, abolished on the day of his death, as if he had been the only obstacle to its formal removal. The church of England was in all respects brought to a conformity to the puritanical establishment; while the citizens of London, and the Scotch army, gave public thanks for so happy an alteration.

The abolition of the reformed religion, as established by queen Elizabeth, seemed at first to promise vigour and consistence to the counsels of the parliamentarians. But such is the nature of man, that if he does not find, he makes, opposition. From the moment the puritans began to be apparently united, and ranked under one denomination of presbyterians, they began to divide into

fresh parties, each professing different views and interests. One part of the house was composed of presbyterians, strictly so called; the other, though a minority, of independents, a new sect that had lately been introduced, and gained ground surprisingly.

The difference between these two sects would be hardly worth mentioning, did not their religious opinions influence their political conduct. The church of England, as we have seen, had appointed bishops of clerical ordination, and a book of common prayer. The presbyterians exclaimed against both; they were for having the church governed by clergymen elected by the people, and prayers made without premeditation. The independents went still farther; they excluded all the clergy; they maintained that every man might pray in public, exhort his audience, and explain the Scriptures. Their political system kept pace with their religious. Not contented with reducing the king to a first magistrate, which was the aim of the presbyterians, this sect aspired at the abolition not only of all monarchy, but of all subordination. They maintained, and they maintained rightly, that all men were born equal; but they alleged also, that no accidental or artificial institutions could destroy this equality; and there they were deceived. Could such a plan of government as theirs be practicable, it would, no doubt, be the most happy; but the wise and industrious must in every country prevail over the weak and idle; and the bad success of the independent scheme soon after showed how ill adapted such speculative ideas were to human infirmity. Possessed, however, with a high idea of their own rectitude both in religion and politics, they gave way to a surly pride, which is ever the result of narrow manners and solitary thinking.

These were a body of men who were now growing

into consideration : their apparent sanctity, their natural courage, excited by enthusiasm, and their unceasing perseverance, began to work considerable effects ; and, though they were out-numbered in the house of commons, which was composed of more enlightened minds, they formed a majority in the army, made up chiefly of the lowest of the vulgar.

The royalists endeavoured to throw a ridicule on this fanaticism, without being sensible how much reason they had to apprehend its dangerous consequences. The forces of the king were united by much feebler ties ; and licence among them, which had been introduced by the want of pay, had risen to a dangerous height, rendering them as formidable to their friends as their enemies. To increase this unpopularity, the king, finding the parliament of Scotland as well as that of England declaring against him, thought proper to make a truce with the papists of Ireland, in order to bring over the English forces who served in that kingdom. With these troops, he also received some of the native Irish into his service, who still retained their fierceness and barbarity. This gave the parliament a plausible opportunity of upbraiding him with taking papists into his service, and gave a colour to the ancient calumny of his having excited them to rebel. Unfortunately too, soon after, it was found that they rather increased the hatred of his subjects than added to the strength of his army. They were routed by Fairfax, one of the generals of the parliament army ; and, though they threw down their arms, they were slaughtered without mercy. It is said that several women were found among the slain, who with long knives had done considerable execution ; but the animosity of the English against these wretches at that time might have given rise to the report.

These misfortunes were soon after succeeded by another. Charles, who had now retired to Oxford, found himself at the head of a turbulent seditious army, who, from wanting pay, were scarcely subject to control; while, on the other hand, the parliamentarians were well supplied and paid, and held together from principle. The parliament, to give them an example of disinterestedness in their own conduct, passed an act, called the *self-denying ordinance*, which deserved all commendation. They resolved, lest it should be suggested by the nation that their intent was to make themselves masters, that no member of their house should have a command in the army. The former generals were, therefore, changed; the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, gave up their commissions; and Fairfax, now appointed general with Cromwell, who found means to keep at once his seat and his commission, new-modelled the army. This, which might at first have seemed to weaken their forces, gave them new spirit; and the soldiers, become more confident in their new commanders, were irresistible.

Never was a more singular army assembled than that which now drew the sword in the parliamentary cause. The officers exercised the office of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, instructed their troops by sermons, prayers, and exhortations. Rapturous ecstasies supplied the place of study and reflection; and while they kindled as they spoke, they ascribed their own warmth to a descent of the Spirit from heaven. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the holy Scriptures, in ghostly conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation mixed their notes with those of the trumpet. An army thus actuated became invincible.

The well-disputed battle which decided the June 14, fate of Charles, was fought at Naseby, a vil- 1645. lage in Northamptonshire. The main body of the royal army was commanded by lord Astley: prince Rupert led the right wing, sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king himself headed the body of reserve. On the opposite side, Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell led on the right wing, and Ireton, his son-in-law, the left. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing with his usual impetuosity and success: they were broken, and pursued as far as the village; but he lost time in attempting to make himself master of their artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was equally successful on his side, and broke through the enemy's horse after a very obstinate resistance. While these were thus engaged, the infantry on both sides maintained the conflict with equal ardour; and, in spite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way. But it was now that Cromwell returned with his victorious forces, and charged the king's infantry in flank with such vigour, that a total rout began to ensue. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king and the small body of reserve; but his troops, though victorious, could not be brought to a second charge. They were at all times licentious and ungovernable; but they were now intimidated; for the parliamentarians, having recovered from the first shock, stood ready in order of battle to receive them. The king was desirous of charging them at the head of his reserve; but the earl of Carnwath, who rode by his majesty's side, seizing the bridle of his horse, turned him round, saying, with a loud oath, "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" The troops seeing his motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in such confusion that they could not be rallied during the rest

of the day. The king, perceiving the battle wholly lost, was obliged to abandon the field to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thousand prisoners.

From this fatal blow the king never after recovered; his army was dispersed, and the conquerors made as many captives as they thought proper. Among the other spoils taken on this occasion, the king's cabinet was seized, in which was contained all his private correspondence with the queen. The letters were shortly after published by the command of the parliament, who took a vulgar and brutal pleasure in ridiculing all those tender effusions which were never drawn up for the public eye.

The battle of Naseby put the parliamentarians in possession of almost all the strong towns of the kingdom—Bristol, Bridgewater, Chester, Sherborn, and Bath. Exeter was besieged; and all the king's troops in the western counties being entirely dispersed, Fairfax pressed the place, and it surrendered at discretion. The king's interests seemed going to ruin in every quarter. The Scottish army, which, as has been said, took part with the parliament, having made themselves masters of Carlisle, after an obstinate siege, marched to the southward, and laid siege to Hereford. Another engagement followed between the king and the parliamentarians, in which his forces were put to the rout by colonel Jones, a thousand of his men made prisoners, and five hundred slain. Thus harassed on every side, he retreated to Oxford, which in all conditions of his fortune had been steady to his cause; and there he resolved to offer new terms to his victorious pursuers.

Nothing could be more affecting than the king's situation during his abode at Oxford. Saddened by his late melancholy disasters, impressed with the appre-

hensions of such as hung over him, harassed by the murmurs of those who had followed his cause, and stung with sorrow for his incapacity to relieve them, he now was willing to grant the parliament their own terms, and at any rate to procure a reconciliation. He therefore sent them repeated messages to this purpose; but they did not deign to make him the least reply. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing some bills, to which if he would consent, they would then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations.

In the mean time Fairfax was approaching A. D. with a powerful and victorious army, and was 1646. taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which promised an easy surrender. To be taken captive and led in triumph by his insolent subjects, was what Charles justly abhorred; and every insult and violence might be dreaded from the soldiery, who had felt the effects of his opposition. In this desperate extremity, he embraced a measure which, in any other situation, might justly lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiscretion. He resolved to give himself up to the Scottish army, who had never testified such implacable animosity against him, and to trust to their loyalty for the rest.

That he might the better conceal his design from the people of Oxford, orders were given at every gate of the city for allowing three persons to pass. In the night, the king, accompanied by doctor Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, took the road towards London, travelling as Ashburnham's servant. He, in fact, came so near London, that he once entertained some thoughts of entering that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. At last, after passing through many cross-roads and by-ways, he arrived at the Scottish

camp before Newark, and discovered himself to lord Leven, the general.

The Scots, who had before given him some general assurances of their fidelity and protection, now seemed greatly surprised at his arrival among them. Instead of bestowing a thought on his interests, they instantly entered into a consultation upon their own. The commissioners of their army sent up an account of the king's arrival to the parliament, and declared that his coming was altogether uninvited and unexpected. In the mean time, they prevailed upon the king to give directions for surrendering all his garrisons to the parliament; with which he complied. In return for this condescension, they treated him with very long sermons among the ecclesiastics, and with the most cautious reserve, but very different from respect, among the officers. The preachers of the party indeed insulted him from the pulpit; and one of them, after reproaching him to his face with his misconduct, ordered that psalm to be sung which begins,

“ Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise? ”

The king stood up, and called for that psalm which begins with these words,

“ Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
For men would me devour.”

The audience accordingly sang this psalm in compassion to majesty in distress.

The parliament being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered into a treaty with the Scots, about delivering up their prisoner. The Scots had, from their first entrance into England, been allowed pay by the parliament, in order to prevent their plundering the country: much of this, however, remained unpaid, from the unavoidable necessities of the times;

and much more was claimed by the Scots than was really due. Nevertheless, they now saw that this was a convenient time for insisting on their arrears; and they resolved to make the king the instrument by which this money was to be obtained. After various debates upon this head between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and insisted upon many punctilios, they agreed, that upon payment of four hundred thousand pounds they would deliver up the king to his enemies: and this was cheerfully complied with. An action so atrocious may be palliated, but can never be defended: they returned home, laden with plunder, and the reproaches of all good men.

From this period to the despotic government of Cromwell, the constitution was convulsed with all the agitations of faction, guilt, ignorance, and enthusiasm. The kingly power being laid low, the parliament attempted to assume the reins; but they were soon to submit in turn to the military power, which, like all democracies, was turbulent, transient, feeble, and bloody.

CHAPTER X.

CHARLES I. (Continued.)

A. D. 1647—1649.

THE king being delivered over by the Scots to the parliamentary commissioners, he was conducted under a guard to Holdenby Castle in Northamptonshire. They treated him in confinement with the most rigorous severity, dismissing all his ancient servants, debarring him from all visits, and cutting off all communication with his friends and family.

The civil war was now over; the king had absolved

his followers from their allegiance, and the parliament had now no enemy to fear, except those very troops by which they had extended their overgrown authority. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminished, the division between the independents and the presbyterians became more apparent. The majority in the house were of the presbyterian sect; but the majority of the army were staunch independents. At the head of this sect was Cromwell, who secretly directed its operations, and invigorated all its measures.

Oliver Cromwell, whose talents now began to appear in full lustre, was the son of a private gentleman of Huntingdon; but being the son of a second brother, he inherited a very small paternal fortune. He had been sent to Cambridge; but his inclinations not at that time turning to the calm occupations of elegant literature, he was remarkable only for the profligacy of his conduct, and the dissipation of his paternal fortune. It was, perhaps, his poverty that induced him to fall into the opposite extreme shortly after; for, from being one of the most debauched men in the kingdom, he became the most rigid and abstemious. The same vehemence of temper which had transported him into the extremes of pleasure, now distinguished his religious habits. He endeavoured to improve his shattered fortunes by agriculture; but this expedient served only to plunge him into farther difficulties. He was even determined to go over and settle in New England; but was prevented by the king's ordinance to the contrary. From accident or intrigue, he was chosen member for the town of Cambridge, in the long parliament; but he seemed at first to possess no talents for oratory, his person being ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. He made up, how-

ever, by zeal and perseverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unshaken intrepidity, much dissimulation, and a thorough conviction of the rectitude of his cause, he rose, through the gradations of preferment, to the post of lieutenant-general under Fairfax; but, in reality, possessing the supreme command over the whole army.

Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterian party, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army, and sending the rest to Ireland. It may easily be supposed, that for every reason the troops were as unwilling to be disbanded as to be led over into a country as yet uncivilised, uncultivated, and barbarous. Cromwell took care to inspire them with a horror of either: they loved him for his bravery and religious zeal, and still more for his seeming affection to them. Instead, therefore, of submitting, they resolved to petition; and they began by desiring an indemnity, ratified by the king, for any illegal actions which they might have committed during the war. This the commons, in turn, treated with great severity; they voted, that this petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, to obstruct the relief of the kingdom of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace.

The army now began to consider themselves as a body distinct from the commonwealth; and complained, that they had secured the general tranquillity, while they were at the same time deprived of the privileges of Englishmen. In opposition, therefore, to the parliament at Westminster, a military parliament was formed, composed of the officers and common soldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council to

represent the body of peers; the soldiers elected two men out of each company to represent the house of commons; and these were called the Agitators of the army. Cromwell took care to be one of the number, and thus contrived an easy method underhand of conducting and promoting the sedition of the army.

This fierce assembly, having debated for a very short time, declared that they found many grievances to be redressed; and began by specifying such as they desired to be most speedily removed. The very same conduct which had formerly been used with success by the parliament against their sovereign, was now put in practice by the army against the parliament. As the commons granted every request, the agitators rose in their demands: the former accused the army of mutiny and sedition; the army retorted the charge, and alleged that the king had been deposed only to make way for their usurpations.

The unhappy king, in the mean time, continued a prisoner at Holdenby Castle; and as his countenance might add some authority to that side which should obtain it, Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army while he apparently exclaimed against their violence, resolved to seize the king's person. Accordingly a party of five hundred horse appeared at the castle, under the command of one Joyce, who had been originally a tailor, but who, in the present confusion of all ranks and orders, was advanced to the rank of cornet. Without any opposition, he entered the king's apartment, armed with pistols, and told him that he must prepare and go with him. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army," replied Joyce. "By what warrant?" asked the king. Joyce pointed to his followers. "Your warrant," replied Charles, "is written in fair characters." And then, without farther delay, he went

into his coach, and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triploe-heath, near Royston. The next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was instantly invested with the supreme command.

It was now that the commons perceived a settled design in the army to prescribe laws to their employers ; and they did not fail to spread the alarm through the city. But it was too late to resist ; the army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's ; so that the commons now began to think of temporising. The declaration by which they had voted the military petitioners enemies to the state, was recalled, and erased from their journal-book. But all submission was vain ; the army still rose in their demands, in proportion as those demands were gratified, until at last they entirely threw off the mask, and claimed a right of modeling the whole government, and settling the nation.

But as too precipitate an assumption of authority might appear invidious, Cromwell began by accusing eleven members of the house as guilty of high treason, and enemies to the army. The members accused were the leaders of the presbyterian party, the very men who had prescribed such rigorous measures to the king, and now, in their turn, were threatened with popular resentment. As they were the leading men in the house, the commons were willing to protect them ; but the army insisting on their dismissal, they voluntarily left the house rather than be compelled to withdraw.

At last the citizens of London, who had been ever foremost in sedition, began to open their eyes, and to perceive that the constitution was totally overturned. They saw an oppressive parliament now subjected to

a more oppressive army; they found their religion abolished, their king a captive, and no hopes of redress but from another scene of slaughter. In this exigence, therefore, the common-council assembled the militia of the city; the works were manned, and a manifesto published, aggravating the hostile intentions of the army. Finding that the house of commons, in compliance with the request of the army, had voted that the city militia should be disbanded, the multitude rose, besieged the door of the house, and obliged them to reverse that vote which they had passed so lately.

In this manner was this wretched house intimidated on either side; obliged at one time to obey the army, at another to comply with the clamours of the city rabble. This assembly was, in consequence, divided into parties, as usual; one part aiding with the seditious citizens, while the minority, with the two speakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. In such an universal confusion, it is not to be excepted that any thing less than a separation of the parties could take place; and accordingly the two speakers, with sixty-two members, secretly retired from the house, and threw themselves under the protection of the army, then encamped upon Hounslow-heath. They were received with shouts and acclamation; their integrity was extolled; and the whole body of the soldiery, a formidable force of twenty thousand men, now moved forward to reinstate them.

In the mean time, the remaining members resolved to act with vigour, and resist the encroachments of the army. They chose new speakers; they gave orders for enlisting troops; they ordered the trained bands to man the lines; and the whole city boldly resolved to resist the invasion. But this resolution only held while the enemy was thought at a distance; for when the formi-

dable force of Cromwell appeared, all was obedience and submission ; the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two speakers, and the rest of the members, peaceably to their habitations. The eleven impeached members, being accused as causes of the tumult, were expelled, and most of them retired to the continent. The mayor, sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower ; several citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to prison, and the lines about the city were leveled to the ground. The command of the Tower was given to Fairfax, the general ; and the parliament ordered him their hearty thanks for having disobeyed their commands.

It now only remained to dispose of the king, who had been sent by the army a prisoner to Hampton Court. The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand, and the presbyterians in the name of either house, on the other hand, treated separately with him in private. He had at one time even hopes, that in these struggles for power, he might have been chosen mediator in the dispute ; and he expected that the kingdom, at last sensible of the miseries of anarchy, would, like a froward child, hushed with its own importunities, settle into its former tranquil constitution. However, in all his miseries and doubts, though at first led about with his army, and afterwards kept a prisoner by them at Hampton, such was his admirable equality of temper, that no difference was perceived in his countenance and behaviour. Though a captive in the hands of his most inveterate enemies, he still supported the dignity of a monarch ; and he never one moment sunk from the consciousness of his own superiority.

It is true, that at first he was treated with some flattering marks of distinction ; he was permitted to converse with his old servants, his chaplains were admitted

to attend him, and celebrate divine service in their own way. But the most exquisite pleasure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had several interviews. The meeting, on these occasions, was so pathetic, that Cromwell himself, who was once present, could not help being moved; he was heard to declare, that he had never beheld such an affecting scene before: and we must do justice to this man's feelings, as he was himself a tender father.

But those flattering instances of respect and submission were of no long continuance. As soon as the army had gained a complete victory over the house of commons, the independents began to abate of their expressions of duty and respect. The king, therefore, was now more strictly guarded: they would hardly allow his domestics to converse with him in private, and spies were employed to mark all his words and actions. He was every hour threatened with false dangers of Cromwell's contrivance; by which he was taught to fear for his personal safety. The spies and creatures of that artful man were sedulously employed in raising the king's terrors, and representing to him the danger of his situation. These at length prevailed, and Charles resolved to withdraw himself from the army. Cromwell considered, that if he should escape from the kingdom, there would be then a theatre open to his ambition; if he should be apprehended, the late attempt would aggravate his guilt, and apologise for any succeeding severity.

Early in the evening, the king retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indisposed; and about an hour after midnight, he went down the back-stairs, attended by Ashburnham and Legge, both gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horses, which they instantly mounted,

and traveling through the Forest all night, arrived at Tichfield, the seat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone towards the shore, and expressed great anxiety that a ship, which Ashburnham had promised to be in readiness, was not to be seen. At Tichfield, he deliberated with his friends upon his next excursion, and they advised him to cross over to the Isle of Wight, where Hammond was governor; who, though a creature of Cromwell, was yet a nephew of doctor Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inauspicious protector it was resolved to have recourse; Ashburnham and Berkeley were sent before to exact a promise from this officer, that, if he would not protect the king, he would not detain him. Hammond seemed surprised at their demand; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but at the same time alleged his duty to his employers. He therefore attended the king's gentlemen to Tichfield, with a guard of soldiers, and remained in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, "O Jack! thou hast undone me!" Ashburnham shed a flood of tears, and offered to go down and dispatch the governor; but the king repressed his ardour. When Hammond came into his presence, he repeated his professions of regard; Charles submitted to his fate, and without farther delay, attended him to Carisbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight, where he at first found himself treated with marks of duty and respect.

While the king continued in this forlorn situation, the parliament, new modeled as it was by the army, became every day more feeble and factious. Cromwell, on the other hand, was strengthening the army, and taking every precaution to repress any tendency to factious di-

vision among them. Nor were his fears without just cause; for, had it not been for the quickness of his penetration, and the boldness of his activity, the whole army would have been thrown into a state of ungovernable phrensy.

Among the independents, who, in general, were for having no ecclesiastical subordination, a set of men grew up called *Levelers*, who disallowed all subordination whatsoever, and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, than Christ. They declared that all men were equal; that all degrees and ranks should be leveled, and an exact partition of property established in the nation. This ferment spread through the army; and as it was a doctrine well suited to the poverty of the daring soldiery, it promised every day to become more dangerous and fatal. Several petitions were presented, urging the justice of a partition, and threatening vengeance on a refusal of redress.

Cromwell now saw that he was upon the point of losing all the fruits of his former schemes and dangers; and dreaded this new faction still more, as they turned his own pretended principles against himself. Thus finding all at stake, he resolved, by one resolute blow, to disperse the faction, or perish in the attempt. Having intimation that the levelers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared before the terrified assembly, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what these meetings and murmurings meant; he expostulated with them upon the danger and consequence of their precipitate schemes, and desired them immediately to depart. But instead of obeying, they returned an insolent answer; wherefore, rushing on them in a fury, he laid, with his own hands, two of them dead at his feet. His guards dispersing the rest,

he caused several of them to be hanged upon the spot; he sent others prisoners to London; and thus dissipated a faction, no otherwise criminal than in having followed his own example.

This action served still more to increase the power of Cromwell in the camp and in the parliament; and while Fairfax was nominally general of the troops, Oliver was invested with all the power. But his authority soon became irresistible, in consequence of a new and unexpected addition to his successes. The Scots, perhaps ashamed of the reproach of having sold their king, and stimulated by the independents, who took all occasions to mortify them, raised an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the duke of Hamilton; while Langdale, who professed himself at the head of the more bigoted party, who had taken the covenant, marched at the head of his separate body, and A. D. both invaded the north of England. Their two 1648. armies amounted to about twenty thousand men. But Cromwell, at the head of eight thousand of his hardy veterans, feared not to give them battle; he attacked them one after the other, routed and dispersed them, took Hamilton prisoner, and, following his blow, entered Scotland, where he settled the government entirely to his satisfaction. An insurrection in Kent was quelled by Fairfax at the same time with the same ease; and nothing but success attended all this bold usurper's criminal attempts.

During these contentions, the king, who was kept a prisoner at Carisbrook, continued to negotiate with the parliament for settling the unspeakable calamities of the kingdom. The parliament saw no other method of destroying military power but to depress it by the kingly. Frequent proposals for an accommodation passed between the captive king and the commons; but the great

obstacle which had all along stood in the way, still kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refusing to abolish episcopacy, though he consented to a suspension of the liturgy of the church. However, the treaty was still carried on with vigour, as the parliament had more to apprehend from the designs of their generals than from the attempts of the king; and, for the first time, they seemed in earnest to conclude their negotiations.

But all was now too late; their power was soon totally to expire; for the rebellious army, crowned with success, had returned from the destruction of their enemies, and, sensible of their own power, with furious remonstrances began to demand vengeance on the king. At the same time they advanced to Windsor: and, sending an officer to seize the king's person, where he was lately sent under confinement, they conveyed him to Hurst castle, in Hampshire, opposite the Isle of Wight. It was in vain that the parliament complained of this harsh proceeding, as being contrary to their approbation; it was in vain that they began to issue ordinances for a more effectual opposition; they received a message from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a visit the next day with his army; and in the mean time he ordered them to levy forty thousand pounds upon the city of London for the public use.

The commons, though destitute of all hopes of prevailing, had still courage to resist, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to close their treaty with the king. They had taken into consideration the whole of his concessions; and though they had formerly voted them unsatisfactory, they now renewed the consultation with fresh vigour. After a violent debate, which had lasted three days, it was carried in the king's favour, by

a majority of a hundred and twenty-nine against eighty-three, that his concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon, in the settlement of the kingdom. This was the last attempt in his favour: for the next day colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the house, and seized in the passage forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room belonging to the house, that passed by the denomination of Hell. Above a hundred and sixty members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the independents, in all not exceeding sixty. This atrocious invasion of the parliamentary rights commonly passed by the name of Pride's *Purge*; and the remaining members were called the *Rump*. These soon voted, that the transactions of the house, a few days before, were entirely illegal, and that the conduct of their general was just and necessary.

Nothing now remained, after the constitution had been destroyed, after the parliament had been ejected, after the religion of the country had been abolished, after the bravest and the best of its subjects had been slain, but to murder the king! This vile parliament, if it now deserves the name, was composed of a medley of the most obscure citizens, and the officers of the army. In this assembly, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king; and, on their report, a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. It was therefore resolved, that a high court of justice should be appointed to try his majesty for this new-invented treason. For the sake of form, they desired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other house; but here there was virtue enough left unanimously to reject the horrid proposal.

A. D. But the commons were not to be stopped by 1649. so small an obstacle. They voted, that the concurrence of the house of lords was unnecessary; they voted that the people were the origin of all just power; a fact which, though true, they never could bring home to themselves. To add to their zeal, a woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetic visions, desired admittance, and communicated a revelation which she had received from heaven. She assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by the sanction of the Holy Ghost. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurst castle to Windsor, and thence to London. His afflicted subjects, who ran to have a sight of their sovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair had become venerably grey, rather by the pressure of anxiety than the hand of time; while the rest of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he stood a solitary figure of majesty in distress, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. He had been long attended only by an old decrepit servant, whose name was sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his master's fate, without being able to revenge his cause. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. The duke of Hamilton, who was reserved for the same punishment with his master, having leave to take a last farewell as he departed from Windsor, threw himself at the king's feet, crying out, "My dear

master!" The unhappy monarch raised him up, and, embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear master to you." These were severe distresses: however, he could not be persuaded that his adversaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he every moment expected to be dispatched by private assassination.

The interval, from the sixth to the twentieth of January, was spent in making preparations for this extraordinary trial. The court of justice consisted of a hundred and thirty-three persons named by the commons; but of these never above seventy met upon the trial. The members who attended were the chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, together with some of the lower house, and a few citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England; Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster-hall.

The King was now conducted from Windsor to St. James's, and, the next day, was brought before the high court to take his trial. While the crier was calling over the names of the commissioners for trying him, nobody answering for Lord Fairfax, a female voice from the gallery was heard to cry out, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of the people of England, the same voice exclaimed, "No, nor a tenth part of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box from which the voice proceeded, it was discovered that these bold answers came from the lady Fairfax, who alone had courage to condemn their proceedings.

When the king was brought before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within

the bar Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, he still sustained the dignity of a king; he surveyed the members of the court with an intrepid haughty air; and, without moving his hat, sat down, while the members also were covered. His charge was then read by the solicitor, accusing him of having been the cause of all the bloodshed which followed since the commencement of the war: at that part of the charge he could not suppress a smile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was finished, Bradshaw directed his discourse to the king, and told him that the court expected his answer.

The king with great temper entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He represented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he expected a different treatment from that which he now received. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal; observed, that he was himself the king and fountain of law, and consequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent; that, having been intrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognising a power founded in usurpation; that he was willing before a proper tribunal to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he must decline any apology for his innocence, lest he should be considered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for, the constitution.

Bradshaw, in order to support the authority of the court, insisted that they had received their power from the people, the source of all right. He pressed the prisoner not to decline the authority of a court that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted and over-ruled the king in his attempts to reply.

In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often persisted in declining its jurisdiction. The fourth and last time he was brought before this self-created court, as he was proceeding thither he was insulted by the soldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, "Justice! justice! Execution! execution!" but he continued undaunted. His judges having now examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed that he intended to resign the crown to his son; but the court refused compliance, and considered his request as an artifice to delay justice.

The conduct of the king, under all these instances of low-bred malice, was great, firm, and equal; in going through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the soldiers and rabble were again instigated to cry out Justice and Execution. They reviled him with the most bitter reproaches. Among other insults, one miscreant presumed to spit in the face of his sovereign. He patiently bore their insolence. "Poor souls," cried he, "they would treat their generals in the same manner for sixpence." Those of the populace, who still retained the feelings of humanity, expressed their sorrow in sighs and tears. A soldier, more compassionate than the rest, could not help imploring a blessing upon his royal head. An officer, overhearing him, struck the honest sentinel to the ground before the king, who could not help saying, that the punishment exceeded the offence.

At his return to Whitehall, he desired the permission of the house to see his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late bishop of London. These requests were granted, and also three

days to prepare for the execution of the sentence. All that remained of his family now in England were the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of Gloucester, a child of eight years of age. After many seasonable and sensible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little son in his arms, and, embracing him, "My child," said he, "they will cut off thy father's head; yes, they will cut off my head, and make thee a king. But mark what I say; thou must not be a king as long as thy brothers Charles and James are alive. They will cut off their heads when they can take them, and thy head too they will cut off at last, and therefore I charge thee do not be made a king by them." The child, bursting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in pieces first."

Every night, during the interval between his sentence and execution, the king slept soundly as usual, though the noise of the workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, continually resounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at last arrived, he rose early, and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for his execution; for it was intended that this should increase the severity of his punishment. He was led through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by his friend and servant bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the mild and steady virtues of his master. The scaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of soldiers under the command of colonel Tomlinson; and on it were to be seen the block, the axe, and two executioners in masques. The people in great crowds stood at a greater distance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king surveyed all these solemn preparations with calm composure; and as he could not

expect to be heard by the people at a distance, he addressed himself to the few persons who stood round him. He there justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and observed, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had shown him the example; that he had no other object in his warlike preparations than to preserve that authority entire which had been transmitted to him by his ancestors; but, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker. He owned that he was justly punished for having consented to the execution of an unjust sentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledged his son as his successor; and signified his attachment to the protestant religion as professed in the church of England. So strong was the impression his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinson himself, to whose care he had been committed, acknowledged himself a convert.

While he was preparing himself for the block, bishop Juxon called out to him: "There is, sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. It will soon carry you a great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you will find, to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten—a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." "You exchange," replied the bishop, "a temporal for an eternal crown—a good exchange." Charles, having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word, "Remember." Then he laid his neck on the block; and, when he had stretched out his hands as a signal, one of the executioners severed his head from

his body at a blow, while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, " This is the head of a traitor ! " The spectators testified their horror at the sad spectacle in sighs, tears, and lamentations ; the tide of their duty and affection began to return, and each blamed himself either for active disloyalty to his king, or a passive compliance with his destroyers. The very pulpits, that used to resound with insolence and sedition, were now bedewed with tears of unfeigned repentance ; and all united in their detestation of those dark hypocrites, who, to satisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of treason.

Jan. 30, Charles was executed in the forty-ninth year 1649. of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling stature, robust, and well proportioned. His visage was pleasing, but melancholy ; and it is probable that the continual troubles in which he was involved might have made that impression on his countenance. As for his character, the reader will deduce it with more precision and satisfaction to himself from the detail of his conduct, than from any summary given of it by the historian. It will suffice to say, that all his faults seem to have arisen from the error of his education ; while all his virtues (and he possessed many) were the genuine offspring of his heart. He lived at a time when the established exercise of the prerogative was at variance with the genius of the people ; and, governing by old rules and precedents, instead of accommodating himself to the changes of the times, he fell, and drew down, as he sunk, the constitution in ruins round him. Many kings before him expired by treason or assassination ; but never, since the times of Agis the Lacedæmonian, was there any other sacrificed by his subjects with all the formalities of justice. Many were the miseries sustained by the nation in bringing this

monarch to the block; and more were yet to be endured previous to the settlement of the constitution: yet these struggles were ultimately productive of domestic happiness and security; the laws became more precise, the monarch's privileges better ascertained, and the subject's duty better delineated; all became more peaceable, as if a previous fermentation in the constitution was necessary for its subsequent refinement.

CHAPTER XI.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

A. D. 1649—1658.

CROMWELL, who had secretly solicited and contrived the king's death, now began to feel wishes to which he had been hitherto a stranger. His prospects widening as he rose, his first principles of liberty were all lost in the unbounded stretch of power that lay before him. When the peers met on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days after, the commons voted that the house of lords, being useless and dangerous, should be abolished. They voted it high-treason to acknowledge Charles Stuart, son of the late king, as successor to the throne. A great seal was made, on one side of which were engraven the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription: "The great seal of England." On the reverse was represented the house of commons sitting, with this motto: "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648." The forms of all public business were changed from

the king's name to that of the keepers of the liberties of England.

The triumphant party now proceeded to try those gallant men, whose attachment to their late sovereign had been the most remarkable. The duke of Hamilton and lord Capel were condemned and executed; the earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence; the earl of Norwich and sir John Owen were condemned, but afterwards pardoned by the commons.

The Scots, who had in the beginning shown themselves so averse to the royal family, having by a long train of success totally suppressed all insurrections in its favour, now began to relent from their various persecutions. Their loyalty began to return; and the insolence of the independents, with their victories, served to inflame them still more. The execution of their favourite duke Hamilton also, who was put to death not only in defiance of the laws of war, but of nations, was no small vexation; they therefore determined to acknowledge prince Charles for their king. But their love of liberty was still predominant, and seemed to combat with their manifold resentments. At the same time that they resolved upon raising him to the throne, they abridged his power with every limitation which they had attempted to impose on their late sovereign.

Charles, after the death of his father, having passed some time at Paris, and finding no prospect of assistance from that quarter, was glad to accept of any conditions. He possessed neither the virtues nor the constancy of his father; and, being attached to no religion as yet, he agreed to all their proposals, being satisfied with even the formalities of royalty. It is remarkable, that, while the Scots were thus inviting their king over, they were, nevertheless, cruelly punishing those who had adhered to his cause. Among others, the marquis

of Montrose, one of the bravest, politest, and most finished characters of that age, was taken prisoner, as he endeavoured to raise the Highlanders in the royal cause; and, being brought to Edinburgh, was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, then quartered, and his limbs stuck up in the principal towns of the kingdom. Yet, notwithstanding all this severity to his followers, Charles ventured into Scotland, and had the mortification to enter the gate of Edinburgh, where the limbs of that faithful adherent were still exposed.

Being now entirely at the mercy of the gloomy and austere zealots who had been the cause of his father's misfortunes, he soon found that he had only exchanged exile for imprisonment. He was surrounded and incessantly importuned by the fanatical clergy, who obtruded their religious instructions, and obliged him to listen to long sermons, in which they seldom failed to stigmatise the late king as a tyrant, to accuse his mother of idolatry, and himself of an untoward disposition. Six sermons a day were his usual allowance; and, though they laboured to outgo each other in absurdity, yet he was denied the small consolation of laughter. In short, the clergy having brought royalty under their feet, were resolved to keep it still subservient, and to trample upon it with all the contumely of successful upstarts. Charles for a while bore all their insolence with hypocritical tranquillity, and even pretended to be highly edified by their instructions. He once, indeed, attempted to escape from among them; but, being brought back, he owned the greatness of his error; he testified repentance for what he had done, and looked about for another opportunity of escaping.

In the mean time Cromwell, who had been appointed to the command of the army in Ireland, prosecuted the war in that kingdom with his usual success. He

had to combat against the royalists commanded by the duke of Ormond, and the native Irish, led on by O'Neal. But such ill-connected and barbarous troops could give very little opposition to Cromwell's more numerous forces, conducted by such a general, and emboldened by long success. He soon overran the whole country; and, after some time, all the towns revolted in his favour, and opened their gates at his approach. But in these conquests, as in all the rest of his actions, there appeared a brutal ferocity that would tarnish the most heroic valour. In order to intimidate the natives from defending their towns, he, with a barbarous policy, put every garrison that made any resistance to the sword. He entered the city of Drogheda by storm, and indiscriminately butchered men, women, and children; so that only one escaped the dreadful carnage to give an account of the massacre. He was now in the train of speedily reducing the whole kingdom to subjection, A. D. when he was called over by the parliament to 1650. defend his own country against the Scots, who, having espoused the royal cause had raised a considerable army to support it.

After Cromwell's return to England, upon taking his seat, he received the thanks of the house, by the mouth of the speaker, for the services he had done the commonwealth in Ireland. They then proceeded to deliberate upon choosing a general for conducting the war in Scotland, which Fairfax refusing upon principle, as he had all along declined opposing the presbyterians, the command necessarily devolved upon Cromwell. Fairfax, from that time forward, declined meddling in public affairs; but, sending his commission of generalissimo to the house, he retired to spend the remainder of his life in peace and privacy. Cromwell, eager to pursue the path of ambition that now lay before him, and

being declared captain-general of the forces, boldly set forward for Scotland, at the head of an army of sixteen thousand men.

The Scots, in the mean time, who had invited over their wretched king to be a prisoner, not a ruler, among them, prepared to meet the invasion. They had given the command of their army to general Lesley, a good officer, who formed a proper plan for their defence. This prudent commander knew, that, though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in discipline and experience to the English; and he kept himself carefully within his entrenchments. After some previous motions on one side and the other, Cromwell, at last, saw himself in a very disadvantageous post near Dunbar, and his antagonist waiting deliberately to take advantage of his situation. But the madness of the Scottish clergy saved him from the imminent disgrace which was likely to attend him, and to their vain inspirations he owed his security. These had, it seems, been night and day wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they at last fancied that they had obtained the superiority. Revelations, they said, were made to them, that the heretical army, together with Agag the general, would be delivered in their hands. Upon the assurances of these visions, they obliged their general, in spite of all his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, and give the English battle.

The English had also their visions and their assurances. Cromwell, in his turn, had been wrestling with the Lord, and had come off with success. When he was told that the Scots were coming down to engage, he assured his soldiers that the Lord had delivered the enemy into his hands; and he ordered his army to sing psalms, as if already possessed of a certain victory. The Scots, though double the number of the English,

were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter, while Cromwell, it is said, did not lose above forty men in all.

The unfortunate king, who hated all the Scottish army, and only dreaded Cromwell, was well enough pleased at the defeat, which belied all the assurances of his oppressors. It was attended also with this good consequence to him, that it served to introduce him to a greater share of power than he had hitherto been permitted to enjoy. He now, therefore, put himself at the head of the Scottish troops that had survived the defeat; and these he strengthened by the royalists, whom the covenanters had some time before excluded from his

A. D. service. Cromwell, however, still followed his 1651. blow, pursued the king's forces towards Perth, and, cutting off their provision, made it impossible for Charles to maintain his forces in that country.

In this terrible exigence he embraced a resolution worthy of a prince who was willing to hazard all for empire. Observing that the way was open to England, he resolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected to be reinforced by all the royalists. His generals were persuaded to enter into the same views; and with one consent the Scottish army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, made an irruption southwards.

But Charles soon found himself disappointed in the expectation of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell from him in great numbers. The English, affrighted at the name of his opponent, dreaded to join him; but his mortifications were still more increased as he arrived at Worcester, when informed that Cromwell was marching against him with hasty strides, with an army increased to thirty-five thousand men. The news had

scarcely arrived when that active general himself appeared ; and, falling upon the town on all sides, broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets were strewed with slaughter, the whole Scottish army were either killed or taken prisoners, and the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly.

Imagination can scarcely conceive adventures more romantic, or distresses more severe, than those which attended the young king's escape from the scene of slaughter. After his hair was cut off, the better to disguise his person, he wrought for some days in the habit of a peasant, cutting faggots in a wood. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrel, a poor farmer, who was sincerely attached to his cause. In this attempt, however, he was disappointed, every pass being guarded to prevent his escape. Being obliged to return, he met one colonel Careless, who, like himself, had escaped the carnage at Worcester ; and it was in his company that he was obliged to climb a spreading oak, among the thick branches of which they passed the day together, while they heard the soldiers of the enemy in pursuit of them below. Thence he passed with imminent danger, feeling all the varieties of famine, fatigue, and pain, till he arrived at the house of colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, in Staffordshire. There he deliberated about the means of escaping into France ; and Bristol being supposed the most convenient port, it was agreed that he should ride thither, before this gentleman's sister, on a visit to Mrs. Norton, who lived in the neighbourhood of that city. During this journey he every day met with persons whose faces he knew ; and at one time passed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army.

When they arrived at Mrs. Norton's, the first person

they saw was one of his own chaplains sitting at the door, amusing himself with seeing people play at bowls. The king, after having taken proper care of his horse in the stable, was shown to an apartment, which Mrs. Lane had provided for him, as it was said he had the ague. The butler, however, being sent to him with some refreshment, no sooner beheld his face, which was very pale with anxiety and fatigue, than he recollected his king and master, and, falling upon his knees, while the tears streamed down his cheeks, cried out, "I am rejoiced to see your majesty." The king was alarmed, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and the honest servant punctually obeyed him.

No ship being found that would for a month set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He therefore repaired to the house of colonel Wyndham, in Dorsetshire, where he was cordially received; that gentleman's family having ever been loyal. His mother, a venerable matron, seemed to think the end of her life nobly rewarded, in having it in her power to give protection to her king. She expressed no dissatisfaction at having lost three sons and one grandchild in the defence of his cause, since she was honoured in being instrumental to his own preservation.

Pursuing thence his journey to the sea-side, he once more had a very providential escape from a little inn, where he put up for the night. The day had been appointed by parliament for a solemn fast; and a fanatical weaver, who had been a soldier in the parliament army, was preaching against the king in a little chapel fronting the house. Charles, to avoid suspicion, was himself among the audience. It happened that a smith, of the same principles with the weaver, had been ex-

aming the horses belonging to the passengers, and came to assure the preacher that he knew, by the fashion of the shoes, that one of the strangers' horses came from the north. The preacher immediately affirmed that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and instantly went with a constable to search the inn. But Charles had taken timely precautions, and had left the inn before the constable's arrival.

At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked. He was known to so many, that, if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it would have been impossible for him to escape. After six weeks' wandering and concealment, he arrived safely at Fescamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had, at different times, been privy to his escape.

In the mean time Cromwell, crowned with success, returned in triumph to London, where he was met by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor of London, and the other magistrates, in all their formalities. His first care was to take advantage of his late success, by depressing the Scots, who had so lately withstood the work of the Gospel as he called it. An act was passed for abolishing royalty in Scotland, and annexing that kingdom as a conquered province, to the English commonwealth. It was empowered, however, to send some members to the English parliament. Judges were appointed to distribute justice; and the people of that country, now freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with their present government. The prudent conduct of Monk, who was left by Cromwell to complete their subjection, served much to reconcile the minds of the people, ha-

rassed with dissensions, of which they never well understood the cause.

A. D. In this manner, the English parliament, by 1652. the means of Cromwell, spread their uncontested authority over all the British dominions. Ireland was totally subdued by Ireton and Ludlow. All the settlements in America, that had declared for the royal cause, were obliged to submit; Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were brought easily under subjection. Thus mankind saw, with astonishment a parliament, composed of sixty or seventy obscure and illiterate members, governing a great empire with unanimity and success. Without any acknowledged subordination, except a council of state consisting of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses were made, they levied armies, maintained fleets, and gave laws to the neighbouring powers of Europe. The finances were managed with economy and exactness. Few private persons became rich by the plunder of the public; the revenues of the crown, the lands of the bishops, and a tax of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds each month, supplied the wants of the government, and gave vigour to all their proceedings.

The parliament having thus reduced their native dominions to perfect obedience, next resolved to chastise the Dutch, who had given but very slight causes of complaint. It happened that one doctor Dorislaus, who was of the number of the late king's judges, being sent by the parliament as their envoy to Holland, was assassinated by one of the royal party, who had taken refuge there. Some time after, also, Mr. St. John, appointed their ambassador to that court, was insulted by the friends of the prince of Orange. These were thought motives sufficient to induce the commonwealth of Eng-

land to declare war against them. The parliament's chief dependence lay in the activity and courage of Blake, their admiral ; who though he had not embarked in naval command till late in life, yet surpassed all that went before him in courage and dexterity. On the other side, the Dutch opposed to him their famous admiral Van Tromp, to whom they have never since produced an equal. Many were the engagements between these celebrated admirals : but sea-fights rarely prove decisive ; and the vanquished are soon seen to make head against the victors. Several dreadful encounters, therefore, rather served to show the excellence of the admirals, than to determine their superiority. The Dutch, however, who felt many great disadvantages by the loss of their trade, and by the total suspension of their fisheries, were willing to treat for a peace ; but the parliament gave them a very unfavourable answer. It was the policy of that body to keep their navy on foot as long as they could ; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by sea, it would diminish the power of general Cromwell by land, which was now become very formidable to them.

This great aspirer quickly perceived their designs ; and from the first saw that they dreaded his growing power, and wished its diminution. All his measures were conducted with an intrepidity that marked his character ; and he now saw that it was not necessary to wear the mask of subordination any longer. Secure in the attachment of the army, he resolved to A. D. make another daring effort ; and persuaded the 1653. officers to present a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected with disdain. The petition was soon drawn up and presented, in which the officers, after demanding their arrears, desired the parliament to consider how many

years they had sitten, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new-model the house, and establish freedom on the broadest basis. They alleged that it was now full time to give place to others; and, however meritorious their actions might have been, yet the rest of the nation had some right in turn to show their patriotism in the service of their country.

The house was highly offended at the presumption of the army, although they had seen but too lately, that their own power was wholly founded on that very presumption. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who should present such petitions should be deemed guilty of high-treason. To this the officers made a very warm remonstrance, and the parliament as angry a reply; while the breach between them every moment grew wider. This was what Cromwell had long wished, and had well foreseen. He was sitting in council with his officers when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating; upon which he rose up in seeming fury, and, turning to major Vernon, cried out, "That he was compelled to do a thing that made the very hair of his head stand on end." Then hastening to the house with three hundred soldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance, he entered, took his place, and attended to the debates for some time. When the question was ready to be put, he suddenly started up, and began to load the parliament with the vilest reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public; upon which, stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members; "For shame," said he, "get you gone. Give place to honest men; to those who will

more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament; I tell you you are no longer a parliament; the Lord has done with you." Sir Henry Vane exclaiming against this conduct, "Sir Harry," cried Cromwell with a loud voice, "O sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, he said, "Thou art a whore-master;" to another, "thou art an adulterer;" to a third, "thou art a drunkard;" and to a fourth, "thou art a glutton." "It is you," continued he to the members, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Then pointing to the mace, "Take away," cried he, "that bauble." After which, turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the doors to be locked, and, putting the key in his pocket, returned to Whitehall.

Thus, by one daring exploit, the new republic was abolished, and the whole command, civil and military, centred in Cromwell only. The people, however, who were spectators in silent wonder of all these precipitate transactions, expressed no disapprobation at the dissolution of a parliament that had overturned the constitution, and destroyed the king. On the contrary, the usurper received congratulatory addresses from the fleet, the corporations, and the army, for having dismissed a parliament that had subjected them to the most cruel impositions.

But this politic man was too cautious to be seduced by their praise, or driven on by their exhortations. Unwilling to put forth all his power at once, he resolved still to amuse the people with the form of a commonwealth, which it was the delusion of the times to admire, and to give them a parliament that would be en-

tirely subservient to his commands. For this purpose, consulting with some of the principal officers, it was decreed, that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and thirty-nine persons, under the denomination of a parliament; and he undertook himself to make the choice.

The persons pitched upon for exercising this seemingly important trust were the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. He was well apprised that, during the administration of such a group of characters, he alone must govern, or that they must soon throw up the reins of government, which they were unqualified to guide. Accordingly, their practice justified his sagacity. To go farther than others into the absurdities of fanaticism was the chief qualification which each of these valued himself upon. Their very names, composed of cant phrases borrowed from Scripture, and rendered ridiculous by their misapplication, served to show their excess of folly. Not only the names of Zerobabel, Habakkuk, and Mesopotamia, were given to those ignorant creatures, but sometimes whole sentences from Scripture. One of them particularly, who was called Praise-God Barebone, a canting leather-seller, gave his name to this odd assembly; and it was called Barebone's parliament.

Their attempts at legislation were entirely correspondent to their stations and characters. As they were chiefly composed of antinomians, a sect that, after receiving the Spirit, supposed themselves incapable of error, and of fifth-monarchy men, who every hour expected Christ's coming on earth, they began by choosing eight of their tribe to seek the Lord in prayer, while the rest calmly sat down to deliberate upon the sup-

pression of the clergy, the universities, the courts of justice; and, instead of all this, it was their intent to substitute the law of Moses.

To this hopeful assembly was committed the treaty of peace with the Dutch; but the ambassadors from that nation, though themselves presbyterians, were quite carnal-minded to these. They were regarded by the new parliament as worldly men, intent on commerce and industry, and therefore not to be treated with. The saintly members insisted that the man of sin should be put away, and a new birth obtained by prayer and meditation. The ambassadors, finding themselves unable to converse with them in their way, gave up the treaty as hopeless.

The very vulgar began now to exclaim against so foolish a legislature; and they themselves seemed not insensible of the ridicule which every day was thrown out against them. Cromwell was probably well enough pleased to find that his power was likely to receive no diminution from their endeavours; but he began to be ashamed of their complicated absurdities. He had carefully chosen many persons among them entirely devoted to his interests, and these he commanded to dismiss the assembly. Accordingly, by concert, they met earlier than the rest of their fraternity; and, observing to each other that this parliament had sitten long enough, they hastened to Cromwell, with Rouse, their speaker, at their head, and into his hands they resigned the authority with which he had invested them.

Cromwell accepted their resignation with pleasure; but being told that some of the number were refractory, he sent colonel White to clear the house of such as ventured to remain there. They had placed one Moyer in the chair by that time the colonel had arrived; and being asked what they did there, he replied very gravely,

that "They were seeking the Lord." "Then you may go elsewhere," cried White; "for, to my certain knowledge, the Lord has not been here these many years."

This shadow of a parliament being dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England. Nothing now could withstand his authority; the mayor and aldermen were sent for, to give solemnity to his appointment; and he was instituted into his new office at Whitehall, in the palace of the kings of England. He was to be addressed by the title of highness; and his power was proclaimed in London and other parts of the kingdom. Thus an obscure and vulgar man, at the age of fifty-four, rose to unbounded power, first by following small events in his favour, and at length by directing great ones.

It was, indeed, in a great measure necessary that some person should take the supreme command; for affairs were brought into such a situation by the furious animosities of the contending parties, that nothing but absolute power could prevent a renewal of bloodshed and confusion. Cromwell, therefore, might have said with some justice, upon his installation, that he accepted the dignity of protector merely that he might preserve the peace of the nation; and this, it must be owned, he effected with equal conduct, moderation, and success. The government of the kingdom was adjusted in the following manner. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor to be under thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their offices for life, or during good behaviour; and, in case of vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, with such powers as the king had possessed. The power of the sword was

vested in him jointly with the parliament when sitting, or with the council at intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and to allow them to sit five months without prorogation. A standing army was established of twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, and funds were assigned for their support. The protector enjoyed his office during life; and on his death the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. Of all those clauses the standing army was alone sufficient for Cromwell's purpose; for while he possessed that instrument, he could mould the rest of the constitution to his pleasure at any time.

Cromwell chose his council among his officers, who had been the companions of his dangers and his victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with frugality and care: while his activity, vigilance, and resolution, were such, that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection, before they took effect.

His management of foreign affairs, though his schemes were by no means political, yet well corresponded with his character, and, for a while were attended with success. The Dutch having been humbled by repeated defeats, and totally abridged in their commercial A. D. concerns, were obliged at last to sue for peace, 1654: which he gave them upon terms rather too favourable. He insisted upon their paying deference to the British flag. He compelled them to abandon the interests of the king, to pay eighty-five thousand pounds as an indemnification for former expenses, and to restore to the English East-India company a part of those dominions

of which they had been dispossessed by the Dutch, during the former reign in that distant part of the world.

A. D. He was not less successful in his negotiations 1655. with the court of France. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom the affairs of that kingdom were conducted, deemed it necessary to pay deference to the protector; and, desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, submitted to Cromwell's imperious character, and thus procured ends equally beneficial to both.

The court of Spain was not less assiduous in its endeavours to gain his friendship, but was not so successful. This vast monarchy, which but a few years before had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now reduced so low as to be scarcely able to defend itself. Cromwell, however, who knew nothing of foreign politics, still continued to regard its power with an eye of jealousy, and came into an association with France to depress it still more. He lent that court a body of six thousand men to attack the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands; and, upon obtaining a signal victory by his assistance near Dunkirk, the French put that town, which they had just taken from the Spaniards, into his hands, as a reward for his attachment.

But it was by sea that he humbled the power of Spain with still more effectual success. Blake, who had long made himself formidable to the Dutch, and whose fame was spread over Europe, now became still more dreadful to the Spanish monarchy. He sailed with a fleet into the Mediterranean, whither, since the time of the crusades, no English fleet had ever ventured to advance. He there conquered all that ventured to oppose him. Casting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained satisfaction for some injuries which the English commerce had suffered from the duke of Tuscany. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to

make peace, and restrain his piratical subjects from farther injuring the English. He then went to Tunis, and having made the same demands, he was desired by the bey of that place to look at the two castles, Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake showed him that he was not slow in accepting the challenge; he entered the harbour, burned the shipping there, and then sailed out triumphantly to pursue his voyage. At Cadiz, he took two galleons, valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. At the Canaries he burned a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships; and, returning home to England to enjoy the fame of his noble actions, as he came within sight of his native country, he expired. This gallant man, though he fought for an usurper, yet was averse to his cause; he was a zealous republican in principle, and his aim was to serve his country, not to establish a tyrant. "It is still our duty," he would say to the seamen, "to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall."

At the same time that Blake's expeditions were going forward, there was another carried on under the command of admiral Penn and Venables, with about four thousand soldiers, to attack the island of Hispaniola. Failing, however, in this, and being driven off by the Spaniards, they steered to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. So little was thought of the importance of this conquest, that, upon the return of the expedition, Penn and Venables were sent to the Tower, for their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

All these successes might rather be ascribed to the spirit of the times than the conductor of them. Cromwell was possessed of but two arts in perfection, that of managing the army, by which he ruled, and obtaining the secrets of his enemies that were plotting against him.

For the first, his valour and canting zeal were sufficient; for the latter, it is said he paid sixty thousand pounds a year to his spies, to procure intelligence. But he took care to make the nation refund those extraordinary sums which he expended for such information. One or two conspiracies entered into by the royalists, which were detected and punished, served him as a pretext to lay a heavy tax upon all of that party, of a tenth penny on all their possessions. In order to raise this oppressive imposition, ten major-generals were instituted, who divided the whole kingdom into so many military jurisdictions. These men had power to subject whom they pleased to a payment of this tax, and to imprison such as denied their jurisdiction. Under colour of these powers, they exercised the most arbitrary authority; the people had no protection against their exactions; the very mask of liberty was thrown off, and all property was at the disposal of a military tribunal. It was in vain that the nation cried out for a free parliament; Cromwell assembled one, in consequence of their clamours; but as speedily dissolved it, when he found it refractory to his commands.

In this state of universal dejection, in which Scotland and Ireland were treated as conquered provinces, in which the protector issued his absolute orders, without even the mask of his former hypocrisy, and in which all trust and confidence were lost in every social meeting, the people were struck with a new instance of the usurper's ambition. As parliaments were ever dear to

A. D. the people, it was resolved to give them one; 1656. but such as should be entirely of the protector's choosing, and chiefly composed of his own creatures. Lest any of a different complexion should presume to enter the house, guards were placed at the door, and none admitted but such as produced a warrant from his

council. The principal design of convening this assembly was, that they should offer him the crown, with the title of king, and all the other ensigns of royalty.

His creatures, therefore, infused into this assembly a high opinion of the merits of the protector, and hinted that confusion prevailed in legal proceedings, without the name of a king. No man, they said, was acquainted with the extent or limits of the present magistrate's authority; but those of a king had been well ascertained by the experience of ages. At last the motion was made in form by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector with the regal dignity. The majority of the house being Cromwell's creatures, it may easily be supposed that the bill was voted according to his secret wishes; and nothing now remained, but his own consent, to have his name enrolled A.D. among the kings of England. 1657.

Whether it was his original intention, by having this bill carried through the house, to show that he was unanimous enough to refuse the offer; or whether, finding some of those on whom he most depended averse to his taking the title, cannot now be known. Certain it is, his doubts continued for some days; and the conference which he carried on with the members who were sent to make him the offer, seems to argue that he was desirous of being compelled to accept what he feared openly to assume. The obscurity of his answers, the absurdity of his speeches on this occasion (for they still remain), show plainly a mind at variance with itself, and combating only with a wish to be vanquished. "I confess," said he, "for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say I hope I may be understood in this; for indeed I must be tender what I would say to such an audience as this; I say I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make a

parallel between men of a different mind, and a parliament which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison; nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least colour that way, because the parliament seems to me to give liberty to me to say any thing to you. As that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to them, and if I think they are such, and will be such to them, and are faithful servants, and will be so to the supreme authority and the legislative, wheresoever it is. If I say I should not tell you, knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful if I should not tell you so, to the end that you may report it to parliament." In this manner did this most unaccountable of all characters answer their petitions for his assuming the kingly name and dignity. The conference, however, ended in his refusing their offer.

But it must not be supposed that his situation, with all these offered honours, was at this time enviable. Perhaps no station, however mean, or loaded with contempt, could be more truly distressful than his, at a time when the nation was loading him with congratula-

A. D. tion and addresses. He had now rendered himself hateful to every party; and he owed his safety to their mutual hatred and diffidence of each other. His arts of dissimulation had been long exhausted; and none could be deceived by them, those of his own party and principles disdaining the use to which he had converted his zeal and professions. The truth seems to be, if we may use a phrase taken from common life, he began with being a dupe to his own enthusiasm, and ended with being a sharper.

The whole nation silently detested his administration; but he had not still been reduced to the extreme of wretchedness, if he could have found domestic consolation. Fleetwood, his son-in-law, actuated with the

wildest zeal, detested that character which could use religious professions for the purposes of temporal advancement. His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehemently, that she could not behold even her own father intrusted with uncontrollable power. His other daughters were strongly attached to the royal cause; but above all, Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, who, upon her death-bed, upbraided him with that criminal ambition which had led him to trample on the throne.

Every hour added some new inquietude. Lord Fairfax, sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into an engagement to destroy him. His administration, so expensive both at home and abroad, had exhausted his revenue, and he was left considerably in debt. One conspiracy was no sooner detected, than another rose from its ruins: and, to increase his calamity, he was now taught upon reasoning principles, that his death was not only desirable, but his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled, *Killing no murder*. Of all the pamphlets that came forth at that time, or perhaps of those that have since appeared, this was the most eloquent and masterly. "Shall we," said this popular declaimer, "who would not suffer the lion to invade us, tamely stand to be devoured by the wolf?" Cromwell read this spirited treatise, and was never seen to smile more.

All peace was now for ever banished from his mind. He found that the grandeur to which he had sacrificed his former peace was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. The fears of assassination haunted him in all his walks, and were perpetually present to his imagination. He wore armour under his clothes, and always kept pistols

in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by settled gloom; and he regarded every stranger with a glance of timid suspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went, and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him, as there he might meet an enemy; solitude was terrible, as he was there unguarded by every friend.

A tertian ague kindly came at last to deliver him from this life of horror and anxiety. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increased, and he himself began to dread his approaching fate; but he was taught to consider his present disorder as no way fatal, by his fanatic chaplains, on whom he entirely relied. When his chaplain, Goodwin, told him that the elect would never be damned, "Then I am sure," said he, "that I am safe; for I was once in a state of grace." His physicians were sensible of his dangerous case; but he was so much encouraged by the revelations of his preachers, that he considered his recovery as no way doubtful. "I tell you," cried he to the physicians, "that I shall not die of this distemper; I am well assured of my recovery. Favourable answers have been returned from Heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who have a closer correspondence with God than I. Ye may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world; and God is far above nature." Upon a fast-day appointed on account of his sickness, his ministers thanked God for the undoubted pledges they had received of his recovery. Notwithstanding these assurances, the fatal symptoms every hour increased; and

the physicians were obliged to declare that he could not survive the next fit. The council now therefore came to know his last commands concerning the succession ; but his senses were gone, and he was just able to answer yes to their demand, whether his son Richard should be appointed to succeed him. He died on the third day of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate of his life : he was then fifty-nine years old, and had usurped the government nine years.

CHAPTER XII.

From the Death of OLIVER CROMWELL to the RESTORATION.

A. D. 1658—1660.

WHATEVER might have been the differences of interest after the death of the usurper, the influence of his name was still sufficient to get Richard his son proclaimed protector in his room. It was probably to the numerous parties that were formed in the kingdom, and their hatred to each other, that Richard owed his peaceable advancement to this high station. He was naturally no way ambitious, being rather mild, easy, and good-natured ; and honour seemed rather to pursue than to attract him. He had nothing active in his disposition ; no talents for business, no knowledge of government, no influence among the soldiery, no importance in council.

It was found necessary, upon his first advancement, to call a parliament, to furnish the supplies to carry on the ordinary operations of government. The house of commons was formed legally enough ; but the house of

lords consisted only of those persons of no real title, who were advanced to that dignified station by the late protector. But it was not on the parliament that the army chose to rely. The principal malcontent officers established a meeting at general Fleetwood's, which, as he dwelt in Wallingford-house, was called the Cabal of Wallingford. The result of their deliberations was a

A. D. remonstrance, that the command of the army 1659. should be intrusted to some person in whom they might all confide; and it was plainly given to understand that the young protector was not that person.

A proposal so daring and dangerous did not fail to alarm Richard; he applied to his council, and they referred it to the parliament. Both agreed to consider it as an audacious attempt, and a vote was passed that there should be no meeting, or general council of officers, without the protector's permission. This brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The palace of the protector was the next day surrounded by a body of officers; and one Desborough, a man of a clownish brutal nature, penetrating into his apartment with an armed retinue, threatened him if he should refuse. Richard wanted resolution to defend what had been conferred upon him; he dissolved the parliament then, and soon after he signed his own abdication in form.

Henry Cromwell, his younger brother, who was appointed to the command in Ireland, followed the protector's example, and resigned his commission without striking a blow. Richard lived many years after his resignation, at first on the continent, and afterwards upon his paternal fortune at home. He was thought by the ignorant to be unworthy of the happiness of his exaltation; but he knew by his tranquillity in private, that he had made the most fortunate escape.

The officers being once more left to themselves, de-

terminated to replace the remnant of the old parliament which had beheaded the king, and which Cromwell had so disgracefully turned out of the house. The system which those members maintained was called the good old cause, from their attachment to republican principles; and to these men the cabal of officers for a while delivered up their own authority. The members, who had been secluded by colonel Pride's purge, as it was called, attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

The Rump parliament (for that was the name it went by), although reinstated by the army, was yet very vigorous in its attempts to lessen the power by which it was replaced. The members began their design of humbling the army by new-modeling part of the forces, by cashiering such of the officers as they feared, and appointing others on whom they could rely, in their room. These attempts, however, were not unobserved by the officers; and their discontent would have broken out into some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the royalists, or presbyterians, who were considered as the common enemy.

In this exigence, the officers held several conferences, with a design to continue their power. They at length came to a resolution, usual enough in these times, to dissolve that assembly by which they were so vehemently opposed. Accordingly, Lambert, one of the general officers, drew up a chosen body of troops; and placing them in the streets which led to Westminster-hall, when the speaker Lenthall proceeded in his carriage to the house, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were likewise intercepted, and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded or attended their outrages.

The officers, having thus resumed the power they had given, resolved not to part with it for the future upon easy terms. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers; these they called a committee of safety, and pretended to invest them with sovereign authority. Fleetwood, a weak zealot, was made commander-in-chief; Lambert, an artful ambitious man, major-general; Desborough, lieutenant-general; and Monk, who had been invested by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, was appointed major-general of the foot. A military government was now established, which gave the nation the melancholy prospect of endless servitude, and tyranny without redress; but a succour came to relieve the nation from a quarter where it was the least expected.

During these transactions, general Monk was at the head of eight thousand veterans in Scotland, and beheld the distraction of his native country with slender hopes of relieving it. This personage, to whom the nation owes such signal obligations, was at first a soldier of fortune. After some time spent abroad, he was intrusted with a regiment in the service of king Charles, and was usually called by the soldiery, for his good-nature, honest George Monk. He was taken prisoner at the siege of Nantwich, by Fairfax, and soon after sent to the Tower. He did not recover his liberty till after the total overthrow of the royal party, when Cromwell took him into favour and protection, and sent him to oppose the Irish rebels, against whom he performed signal services. Upon the reduction of that kingdom he was sent over into Scotland, and there intrusted with the supreme command, in which station he was not less esteemed by the Scots than loved and adored by his own army.

This general, upon hearing that the officers had, by their own authority, dissolved the parliament, protested

against the measure, and resolved to defend their invaded privileges. But deeper designs, either in the king's favour or his own, were suspected to be the motive of his actions from the beginning. Whatever might have been his designs, it was impossible to cover them with greater secrecy than he did. As soon as he put his army into motion to inquire into the causes of the disturbances in the capital, his countenance was eagerly sought by all the contending parties. His brother, a clergyman, who was a zealous royalist, came to him with a message from sir John Granville, in the name of the king. The general asked him if he had communicated the contents of his commission to any other person. His brother replied, to none, except to Mr. Price, the general's own chaplain, a man of probity, and in the royal interests. The general, altering his countenance, at once changed the discourse, and would enter into no farther conference with him. The same deep reserve was held through all his subsequent proceedings.

Hearing that the officers were preparing an army to oppose him, and that general Lambert was actually advancing northward to meet him, Monk sent three commissioners to London, with very earnest professions of an accommodation, by which means he relaxed their preparations. His commissioners even proceeded so far as to sign a treaty, which he refused to ratify. Still, however, he made proposals for fresh negotiations; and the committee of officers again accepted his fallacious offers.

In the mean time, the people, perceiving that they were not entirely defenceless, began to gather spirit, and to exclaim loudly against the tyranny of the army. Haselrig and Morley, while Lambert was absent, took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. The city-apprentices rose in a tumult, and de-

manded a free parliament; admiral Lawson came into the river with his squadron and declared for the parliament; and even the regiments that had been left in London, being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered, revolted again to the parliament. The Rump, thus being invited on all hands, again ventured to resume their seats, and to thunder their votes in turn against the officers, and that part of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the troops he conducted, immediately to repair to the garrisons they appointed for them. The soldiers were not slow in obeying the parliamentary orders; and Lambert at last found himself deserted by his whole army. He was soon after committed to the Tower; several of his brother officers were cashiered; and the parliament seemed now to stand on a firmer basis than before.

A. D. But they were far from being so secure as they 1660. imagined. Monk, though he had heard of their restitution, and therefore might be supposed to have nothing more to do, still continued to march his army towards the capital; all the world equally in doubt as to his motives, and astonished at his reserve. The gentry, on his march, flocked around him with entreaties and addresses, expressing their desire of a new parliament. Fairfax brought him a body of troops, with which he offered to assist in the work of restoration; but Monk continued his inflexible taciturnity. When he had reached St. Alban's, he sent the parliament a message, desiring them to remove such forces as remained in London to country quarters. With this some of the regiments refused to comply: but Monk was resolved to be obeyed; he entered London the next day, turned the soldiers out, and with his army, took up his quarters in Westminster. He then waited upon the house, which

was ready enough to vote him sincere thanks for the services he had done his country. But he, in a blunt manner, assured them, that his only merit was a desire to restore peace to the community; and, therefore, he entreated them that they would permit a free parliament to be called, as the only balm that could heal the wounds of the constitution. He observed also, that many oaths of admission upon this occasion were unnecessary; and the fewer the obligations of this kind, the clearer would their consciences be.

The hope of being insolent with security soon inspired the citizens to refuse submission to the present government. They resolved to pay no taxes, until the members, formerly excluded by colonel Pride, should be replaced. But the parliament found their general willingness to give them the most ready instances of his obedience; he entered the city with his troops, arrested eleven of the most obnoxious of the common-council, and began to destroy the gates. Then he wrote a letter to the parliament, telling them what he had done, and begging they would moderate the severity of their orders. But being urged by the house to proceed, he, with all possible circumstances of contempt, broke the gates and portcullises; and, having exposed the city to the scorn and derision of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster. But the next day he began to think he had proceeded too vigorously in this act of obedience; he therefore marched into the city again, and desired the mayor to call a common-council, where he made many apologies for his conduct the day before. He assured them of his perseverance in the cause of freedom; and that his army would, for the future, co-operate only in such schemes as they should approve.

This union of the city and the army caused no small

alarm in the house of commons. They knew that a free and general parliament was desired by the whole nation; and, in such a case, they were convinced that their own power must have an end. But their fears of punishment were still greater than their uneasiness at dismission; they had been instrumental in bringing their king to the block, in loading the nation with various taxes, and some of them had grown rich by the common plunder; they resolved, therefore, to try every method to gain over the general from his new alliance; even some of them, desperate with guilt and fanaticism, promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his usurpation. But Monk was too just, or too wise, to hearken to such wild proposals; he resolved to restore the secluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election, which was what he desired.

There was no other method to effect this, but by force of arms; wherefore, having previously secured the consent of his officers, and exacted a promise from the excluded members, that they would call a full and free parliament, he accompanied them to Whitehall. Thence, with a numerous guard, he conducted them to the house of commons, the other members of which were then sitting. They were surprised to see a large body of men entering the place; but soon recollected them for their ancient brethren, who had been formerly tumultuously expelled, and were now as tumultuously restored. The number of the new comers so far exceeded that of the Rump, that the chiefs of this last party now, in their turn, thought proper to withdraw.

The restored members began by repealing those orders by which they had been excluded. They renewed and enlarged the general's commission; they fixed a

proper stipend for the support of the fleet and army; and having passed these votes for the composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and gave orders for the immediate assembling a new parliament. Meanwhile Monk new-modelled his army to the purposes he had in view. Some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

In the midst of these transactions, his endeavours were very near being defeated by an accident as dangerous as unexpected. Lambert had escaped from the Tower, and began to assemble forces; and, as his activity and principles were sufficiently known, Monk took the earliest precautions to oppose his measures. He dispatched colonel Ingoldsby with his own regiment against Lambert, before he should have time to assemble his dependents. That officer had taken possession of Daventry, with four troops of horse; but the greater part of them joined Ingoldsby, to whom he himself surrendered, not without exhibiting marks of pusillanimity that ill agreed with his former reputation.

The new parliament was not yet assembled, and no person had hitherto dived into the designs of the general. He still persevered in his reserve; and, although the calling a new parliament was but, in other words, to restore the king, yet his expressions never once betrayed the secret of his bosom. Nothing but a security of confidence at last extorted the confession from him. He had been intimate with one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a sedentary, studious disposition, and with him alone did he deliberate upon the great and

-dangerous enterprise of the restoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied for access to the general; but he was desired to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville refused, though twice urged, to deliver his message to any but the general himself; so that Monk, now finding he could depend upon this minister's secrecy, freely opened to him his whole intentions; but, with his usual caution, still scrupled to commit any thing to paper. In consequence of this communication, the king left the Spanish territories, where he very narrowly escaped being detained at Brèda by the governor, under pretence of treating him with proper respect and formality. Thence he retired into Holland, where he resolved to wait for farther advice.

In the mean time the elections in parliament went every where in favour of the king's party. The presbyterians had long been so harassed by the falsehood, the folly, and the tyranny of their independent coadjutors, that they longed for nothing so ardently as the king's restoration. These, therefore, joined to the royalists, formed a decisive majority on every contest; and, without noise, but with steady resolution, determined to call back the king. Though the former parliament had voted that no one should be elected, who had himself or whose father had borne arms for the late king, yet very little regard was any where paid to this ordinance; and in many places the former sufferings of the candidate were his best recommendation.

At length the long expected day for the sitting of a free parliament arrived, and they chose sir Harbottle Grimstone for their speaker; a man who, though at first attached to the opposite party, was yet a royalist in his heart. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet such were their fears, and such dangers at-

tended a freedom of speech, that no one dared for some days to make any mention of his name. They were terrified with former examples of cruelty; and they only showed their loyalty in their bitter invectives against the late usurper, and in execrations against the murderers of their king. All this time, Monk, with his usual reserve, tried their tempers, and examined the ardour of their wishes; at length he gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them that one sir John Granville, a servant of the king, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons.

Nothing could exceed the joy and transport with which this message was received. The members for a moment forgot the dignity of their situations, and indulged in a loud exclamation of applause. Granville was called in, and the letter eagerly read. A moment's pause was scarcely allowed: all at once the house burst out into an universal assent to the king's proposals; and, to diffuse the joy more widely, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The king's declaration was highly relished by every order of the state. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever, without any exceptions but such as should be made by parliament. It promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles; to confirm all these concessions by act of parliament; to satisfy the army under general Monk with respect to their arrears, and to give the same rank to his officers, when they should be received into the king's service.

This declaration was not less pleasing to the lords

than to the people. After voting the restitution of the ancient form of government, it was resolved to send the king fifty thousand pounds, the duke of York his brother ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester half that sum. Then both houses erased from their records all acts that had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, the city of London, were eager in preparing their addresses to be presented to his majesty; and he was soon after proclaimed with great solemnity at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. The people, now freed from all restraint, let loose their transports without bounds. Thousands were seen running about frantic with pleasure; and, as lord Clarendon says, such were the numbers of the loyalists that pressed forward on this occasion, that one could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had lately done so much mischief.

Charles took care to confirm the substance of his declarations to the English commissioners, who were dispatched to attend him into his native dominions. Montague, the English admiral, waited upon his majesty to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command as lord high-admiral. The king went on board, and, landing at Dover, was received by the general, whom he tenderly embraced. Very different was his present triumphant return from the forlorn state in which he left the coast of Sussex. He now saw the same people, that had ardently sought his life, as warmly expressing their pleasure at his safety, and repentance for their past delusions. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day. An innumerable concourse of people lined the way wherever he passed, and rent the air with their acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelent-

ing factions, oppressed and alarmed by a succession of tyrannies, that they could no longer suppress these emotions of delight to behold their constitution restored, or rather, like a phoenix, appearing more beautiful and vigorous from the ruins of its former conflagration.

Fanaticism, with its long train of gloomy terrors, fled at the approach of freedom; the arts of society and peace began to return: and it had been happy for the people if the arts of luxury had not entered in their train.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARLES II.

A. D. 1660—1677.

THIS is one of the most extraordinary epochas in English history, in which we see the people tossed into opposite factions, and, as the sea after a storm, still continuing those violent motions by which they were first impelled. We see them at one period of the following reign, with unbounded adulation, soliciting the shackles of arbitrary power; at another, with equal animosity, banishing all the emissaries of unbounded power from the throne; now courting the monarch, and then threatening those on whom he most depended. There seems a clue that can unravel all these inconsistencies. While the people thought the king a protestant, they were willing to intrust him with their lives and fortunes; but when they supposed that he was more inclined to popery, all their confidence vanished, and they were even willing to punish papists, as the most proper method of showing their resentment against himself.

When Charles came to the throne he was thirty years

of age, possessed of an agreeable person, an elegant address, and an engaging manner. His whole demeanour and behaviour were well calculated to support and increase popularity. Accustomed during his exile to live cheerfully among his courtiers, he carried the same endearing familiarities to the throne; and, from the levity of his temper, no injuries were dreaded from his former resentments. But it was soon found that all these advantages were merely superficial. His indolence and love of pleasure made him averse to all kinds of business; his familiarities were prostituted to the worst as well as the best of his subjects; and he took no care to reward his former friends, as he had taken no steps to be avenged of his former enemies.

It required some time before the several parts of the state, disfigured by war and faction, could come into proper form: a council was composed, in which members of the church of England and presbyterians were indiscriminately admitted; and the king's choice of his principal ministers was universally pleasing to the people. Sir Edward Hyde, who had attended him in his exile, was now created a peer by the title of lord Clarendon, and appointed lord chancellor, and first minister of state. This excellent man is better known now by his merits as an historian than as a statesman; but his integrity and wisdom were equally excellent in both capacities. The marquis, afterwards created duke of Ormond, was appointed lord-steward of the household, the earl of Southampton high treasurer, and sir Edward Nicholas secretary of state. These men, combined by private friendship, and pursuing one common aim, laboured only for the public, and supported its interests with their own.

Notwithstanding the joy of the people was unbounded, yet something was thought to be due to justice, and

some vengeance was necessary to be taken upon those who had lately involved the nation in its calamities. Though an act of indemnity was passed, those who had an immediate hand in the king's death were excepted. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, now dead, were considered as proper objects of resentment; their bodies were dug from their graves, dragged to the place of execution, and, after hanging some time, buried under the gallows. Of the rest, who sat in judgement on the late monarch's trial, some were dead, and some were thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of four-score, were devoted to immediate destruction. These were enthusiasts, who had all along acted from principle, and who, in the general spirit of rage excited against them, showed a fortitude that might do honour to a better cause.

General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial, pleaded his cause with that undaunted firmness which he had shown through life. What he had done, he said, was from the impulses of the Spirit of God. He would not, for any benefit to himself, hurt a hair of the poorest man or woman upon earth; and during the usurpation of Cromwell, when all the rest of the world acknowledged his right, or bowed down to his power, he had boldly upbraided the usurper to his face; and all the terrors of imprisonment, and all the allurements of ambition, had not been able to bend him to a compliance to that deceitful tyrant. Harrison's death was marked with the same admirable constancy which he showed at his trial; so that the greatness of some virtues which he possessed, in some measure counterbalanced the greatness of his guilt.

Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtell, shared the same fate. They bore the scorn of the multitude, and the cruelty of the execu-

tioner, not simply with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who suffered for having done their duty. Some circumstances of scandalous barbarity attended their execution. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown in the fire before he expired. His head was fixed on the sledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner, having mangled Coke, approached Peters, besmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked how he liked that work. Peters viewed him with an air of scorn: "You have butchered a servant of God in my sight; but I defy your cruelty."

This was all the blood that was shed in so great a restoration. The rest of the king's judges were reprieved, and afterwards dispersed into several prisons. Charles, being directed in all things by Clarendon, gave universal satisfaction, as well by the lenity as the justice of his conduct. The army was disbanded that had for so many years governed the nation; prelacy, and all the ceremonies of the church of England, were restored; at the same time that the king pretended to preserve an air of moderation and neutrality. In fact, with regard to religion, Charles, in his gayer hours, was a professed deist, and attached to none; but in the latter part of his life, when he began to think more seriously, he showed an inclination to the catholic persuasion, which he had strongly imbibed in his exile.

But this toleration, in which all were equally included, was not able to remove the fears or quell the enthusiasm of a few determined men, who, by an unexampled combination, were impelled by one common phrensy. One Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who A. D. had often conspired against Cromwell, and had 1661. as often been pardoned, had by this time per-

sueded his followers that, if they would take arms, Jesus would come to put himself at their head. With these expectations, to the number of sixty persons, they issued forth into the streets of London in complete armour, and proclaimed king Jesus wherever they went. They believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and expected the same fortune which had attended Gideon, and the other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first fled before them; one unhappy man being asked whom he was for, and answering that he was for God and the king, they slew him on the spot. In this manner they went from street to street, and made a desperate resistance against a body of the trained bands that were sent to attack them. After killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Cannwood, near Hampstead. Being dislodged thence, the next morning they returned to London, and took possession of a house in which they defended themselves against a body of troops, until the majority were killed. At last the troops, who had untiled the house, and were tired of slaughter, rushed in, and seized the few that were left alive. They were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they declared, that if they were deceived, the Lord himself was their deceiver.

The absurdity, and even ridicule, which attended the professions and expectations of these poor deluded men, struck the people very strongly: and, from the gloomy moroseness of enthusiasm, they now went over into the opposite extreme of riot and debauchery. The court itself set them the example: nothing but scenes of gallantry and festivity appeared; the horrors of the late war were become the subject of ridicule; the formality and ignorance of the sectaries were displayed upon the stage, and even laughed at from the pulpit. But,

while the king thus rioted, the old faithful friends and followers of his family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought for him and his father, and had lost their whole fortunes in his service, still continued to pine in want and oblivion; while, in the mean time, their persecutors, who had profited by the times, had acquired fortunes during the civil war, and were still permitted to enjoy them without molestation. The sufferers petitioned in vain; the family of the Stuarts were never remarkable for their gratitude; and the amusers, the flatterers, and the concubines of this monarch, enjoyed all his consideration. The wretched royalists murmured without redress; he fled from their gloomy expostulations to scenes of mirth, riot, and festivity.

Nevertheless his parliaments, both of England and Scotland, seemed willing to make reparation for their former disobedience, by their present concessions. In the English house, monarchy and episcopacy were carried to as great splendor as they had suffered misery and depression. The bishops were permitted to resume their seats in the house of peers; all military authority was acknowledged to be vested in the king; and he was empowered to appoint commissioners for regulating corporations, and expelling such members as had intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution. An act of uniformity in A. D. religion was passed, by which it was required 1662. that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; that he should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and should take the oath of canonical obedience. In consequence of this law, above two thousand of the presbyterian clergy re-

linquished their cures in one day, to the great astonishment of the nation; thus sacrificing their interest to their religion.

But the Scotch parliament went still greater lengths in their prostrations to the king. It was there that his divine, indefeasible, and hereditary right, was asserted in the fullest and most positive terms. His right was extended to their lives and possessions; and from his original grant was said to come all that his subjects might be said to enjoy. They voted him an additional revenue of forty thousand pounds; and all their former violences were treated with the utmost detestation.

This was the time for the king to have made himself independent of all parliaments; and it is said that Southampton, one of his ministers, had thought of procuring his master from the commons the grant of a revenue of two millions a year, which would effectually render him absolute; but in this his views were obstructed by the great Clarendon, who, though attached to the king, was still more the friend of liberty and the laws. Charles, however, was no way interested in these opposite views of his ministers: he only desired money in order to prosecute his pleasures; and, provided he had that, he little regarded the manner in which it was obtained.

It was this careless and expensive disposition that first tended to disgust his subjects, and to dispel that intoxication of loyalty which had taken place at his restoration. Though the people were pleased with the mirth and pleasantry of their monarch, they could not help murmuring at his indolence, his debaucheries, and profusion. They could not help remembering the strict frugality and active diligence that marked the usurper's administration; they called to mind the victories they had gained under him, and the vast projects he had undertaken. But they now saw an opposite picture;

a court sunk in debauchery, and the taxes of the nation only employed in extending vice, and corrupting the morals of the people. The ejected clergy did not fail to inflame these just resentments in the minds of their audience; but particularly when the nation saw Dunkirk, which had been acquired during the late vigorous administration, now basely sold to the French for a small sum to supply the king's extravagance, they could put no bounds to their complaints. From this time he found the wheels of government clogged with continual obstructions, and his parliaments reluctantly granting those supplies, which he as meanly condescended to implore.

His continual exigencies drove him constantly to measures no way suited to his inclination. Among others, was his marriage, celebrated at this time with Catharine, the infanta of Portugal, who, though a virtuous princess, possessed, as it should seem, but few personal attractions. It was the portion of this princess that the needy monarch was enamoured of, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortress of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies. The chancellor Clarendon, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Southampton, urged many reasons against this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children: the king disregarded their advice, and the inauspicious marriage was celebrated accordingly.

But still his necessities were greater than his supplies. He never much loved the steady virtue of lord Clarendon, and imputed to him some of those necessities to which he was reduced. It is said also that this great minister prevented him from repudiating the queen, which he had thoughts of doing, in order to marry one Mrs. Stuart, on whom he had placed his affections, by

procuring that lady to be privately married to the duke of Richmond. However this be, he was now willing to give him up to the resentment of the parliament, to whom he was become obnoxious, in order to obtain A. D. some farther supplies. For this purpose he as- 1662. sembled the commons in the Banqueting-house; and in the close of a flattering speech, replete with professions of eternal gratitude and the warmest affection, he begged a supply for his present occasions, which he said were extremely pressing. They could not resist his humble supplications: they granted him four subsidies; and the clergy, in convocation, followed their example. On this occasion lord Bristol ventured to impeach the chancellor in the house of peers; but, not supporting his charge for this time, the affair dropped, only in order to be revived in the next session with greater animosity.

It was probably with a view of recruiting the A. D. supply for his pleasures, that he was induced to 1664. enter into a war with the Dutch, as the money appointed for that purpose would go through his hands. A vote, by his contrivance, was procured in the house of commons, alleging that the wrongs, affronts, and indignities, offered by the Dutch, in several quarters of the globe, had in a great measure obstructed the trade of the nation. This was enough for his majesty to proceed upon. As his prodigality always kept him necessitous, he foresaw that he should be able to convert a part of the supplies to his private amusements. His brother also, the duke of York, longed for an opportunity of signalising his courage and conduct, as high-admiral, against a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but also as being one of the chief bulwarks of the protestant religion.

This war began on each side with mutual depredations. The English under the command of sir Robert

Holmes, not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse castle, on the coast of Africa, but likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde and the isle of Goree. Sailing thence to America, the admiral possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York; a country which long continued annexed to the English government. On the other hand, De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, sailing to Guinea, dispossessed the English of all their settlements there, except Cape Corse. He then sailed to America, and attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed. He afterwards committed Hostilities on Long A. D. Island. Soon after, the two most considerable 1665. fleets of each nation met, the one under the duke of York, to the number of a hundred and fourteen sail; the other commanded by Opdam, of nearly equal force. The engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides fought with their usual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hottest part of the engagement, and behaved with great spirit and composure, while his lords and attendants were killed beside him. In the heat of the action, when engaged in close fight with the duke, the Dutch admiral's ship blew up: this accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast; they had nineteen ships sunk and taken; the victors lost only one. This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation; and De Wit, their great minister, whose genius and wisdom were admirable, was obliged to take the command of the fleet upon himself. This extraordinary man quickly became as much master of naval affairs as if he had been from his infancy educated in them. He even improved some parts of the naval art, beyond what expert mariners had ever expected to attain.

The success of the English naturally excited the jealousy of the neighbouring states, particularly France and

Denmark, who resolved to protect the Dutch against the superior power of their opposers. The A. D. Dutch, being thus strengthened by so powerful 1666. an alliance, resolved to face their conquerors once more. De Ruyter, their great admiral, had returned from his expedition to Guinea, and was appointed, at the head of seventy-six sail, to join the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who, it was supposed, was then advancing toward the British Channel from Toulon. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert now commanded the English fleet, which did not exceed seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under Cromwell, had learned too much to despise the enemy, proposed to dispatch prince Rupert with twenty ships to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscough, well acquainted with the force of his enemies, protested against the temerity of this resolution; but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The English and Dutch thus engaging upon unequal terms, a battle ensued, the most memorable in the annals of the ocean. The battle began with incredible fury: the Dutch admiral Evertzen was killed by a cannon-ball, and one vessel of their fleet was blown up, while one of the English ships was taken: darkness parted the combatants for the first day. The second day they renewed the combat with increased animosity; sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, and the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight. Upon retreating towards their own coast, the Dutch followed them, where another dreadful conflict was beginning, but parted by the darkness of the night, as before. The morning of the third day, the English were obliged to continue their retreat, and the Dutch persisted in pursuing. Albemarle, who still kept in the rear, and presented a dreadful front to the enemy, made a desperate resolution to blow up his ship rather

than submit to the enemy ; when he happily found himself reinforced by prince Rupert with sixteen ships of the line. By this time it was night ; and the next morning, after a distant cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat, which was continued with great violence till they were parted by a mist. Sir George Ayscough, in a ship of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to strike on the Galoper sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The English retired first into their harbours ; both sides claimed the victory, but the Dutch certainly obtained the advantage, though not the glory, of the combat.

A second engagement, equally bloody, followed soon after, with larger fleets on both sides, commanded by the same admirals ; and in this the Dutch were obliged to own themselves vanquished, and retreat into their own harbours. But they were soon in a capacity to outnumber the English fleet, by the junction of Beaufort the French admiral. The Dutch fleet appeared in the

A. D. Thames, conducted by their great admiral ; and 1667. threw the English into the utmost consternation : a chain had been drawn across the river Medway ; some fortifications had been added to the forts along the banks ; but all these were unequal to the present force. Sheerness was soon taken, the Dutch passed forward, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships sunk there by Albemarle's orders. Destroying the shipping in their passage, they advanced with six men of war and five fire-ships, as far as Upnore castle, where they burned three men of war. The whole city of London was in consternation ; it was expected that the Dutch might sail up next tide to London bridge, and destroy, not only the shipping, but even the buildings of the metropolis. But the Dutch were unable to prosecute that project, from the failure of the French, who had pro-

mised to give them assistance: spreading, therefore, an alarm along the coast, they returned to their own ports, to boast of their success against their formidable enemies.

Nothing could exceed the indignation felt by the people at this disgrace. But they had lately sustained some accidental calamities, which in some measure moderated their rage and their pride. A plague had ravaged the city, which swept away ninety thousand of its inhabitants. This calamity was followed, in the year 1666, by another still more dreadful, as more unexpected; a fire breaking out at a baker's house, who lived in Pudding-lane, near the bridge, it spread with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it till it laid in ashes the most considerable part of the city. The conflagration continued three days; while the wretched inhabitants fled from one street only to be spectators of equal calamities in another. At length, when all hope vanished, and a total destruction was expected, the flames ceased unexpectedly, after having reduced thousands from affluence to misery. As the streets were narrow, and the houses were mostly built with wood, the flames spread the faster; and the unusual dryness of the season prevented the proper supplies of water. But the people were not satisfied with these obvious causes: having been long taught to impute their calamities to the machinations of their enemies, they now ascribed the present misfortune to the same cause, and imputed the burning of the city to a plot laid by the papists. But, happily for that sect, no proofs were brought of their guilt, though all men were willing to credit them. The magistracy, therefore, contented themselves with ascribing it to them, on a monument raised where the fire began, and which still continues as a proof of the blind credulity of the times. This calamity, though at first

it affected the fortunes of thousands, in the end proved both beneficial and ornamental to the city. It rose from its ruins in greater beauty than ever; and the streets being widened, and the houses built of brick instead of wood, it became more wholesome and more secure.

These complicated misfortunes did not fail to excite many murmurs among the people: fearful of laying the blame on the king, whose authority was formidable, they very liberally ascribed all their calamities to papists, jesuits, and fanatics. The war against the Dutch was exclaimed against, as unsuccessful and unnecessary; as being an attempt to humble that nation, who were equal enemies of popery themselves. Charles himself also began to be sensible that all the ends for which he had undertaken the Dutch war were likely to prove ineffectual. Whatever projects he might have formed for secreting the money granted him by parliament for his own use, he had hitherto failed in his intention; and, instead of laying up, he found himself considerably in debt. Proposals were, therefore, thrown out for an accommodation, which, after some negotiation, the Dutch consented to accept. A treaty was concluded at Breda, by which the colony of New York was ceded by the Dutch to the English, to whom it was a most valuable acquisition.

Upon the whole of this treaty, it was considered as inglorious to the English, as they failed in gaining any redress upon the complaints that gave rise to it. Lord Clarendon, therefore, incurred blame, both for having first advised an unnecessary war, and then for concluding a disgraceful peace. He had been long declining in the king's favour, and he was no less displeasing to the majority of the people. His severe virtue, his uncomplying temper, and his detestation of factious measures, were unlikely to gain him many partisans in such a

court as that of Charles, that had been taught to regard every thing serious as somewhat criminal. There were many accusations now, therefore, brought up against him : the sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, and disgrace at Chatham, were all added to the accumulation of his guilt ; but particularly his imputed ambition was urged among his crimes. His daughter had, while yet in Paris, commenced an amour with the duke of York, and had permitted his gallantries to transgress the bounds of virtue. Charles, who then loved Clarendon, and who was unwilling that he should suffer the mortification of a parent, obliged the duke to marry his daughter ; and this marriage, which was just in itself, became culpable in the minister. A building likewise of more expense than his slender fortune could afford had been undertaken by him ; and this was regarded as a structure raised by the plunder of the public. Fewer accusations than these would have been sufficient to disgrace him with Charles ; he ordered the seals to be taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgman.

This seemed the signal of Clarendon's enemies to step in, and effect his entire overthrow. The house of commons, in their address to the king, gave him thanks for the dismissal of that nobleman ; and immediately a charge was opened against him in the house, by Mr. Seymour, consisting of seventeen articles. These, which were only a catalogue of the popular rumours before mentioned, appeared at first sight false or frivolous. However, Clarendon finding the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, running with impetuosity against him, thought proper to withdraw to France. The legislature then passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, while the earl continued to reside in a private manner at Paris, where he employed his leisure in reduc-

ing his history of the civil war into form, for which he had before collected materials.

A. D. A confederacy of great importance, which 1668. goes by the name of the Triple Alliance, was formed by Charles soon after the fall of this great statesman, as if to show that he could still supply his place. It was conducted by Sir William Temple, one of the great ornaments of English literature, who united the philosopher and the statesman, and was equally great in both characters. This alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from completing his conquests in the Netherlands. That monarch had already subdued the greater part of that delightful country; when he was unexpectedly stopped in the midst of his career by this league, in which it was agreed by the contracting powers, that they would constitute themselves arbiters of the differences between France and Spain, and check the inordinate pretensions of either.

To this foreign confederacy succeeded one of a domestic nature, that did not promise such beneficial effects as the former. The king had long been fluctuating between his pride and his pleasures; the one urged him to extend his prerogative, the other to enjoy the good things that fortune threw in his way. He therefore would be likely to find the greatest satisfaction in those ministers who could flatter both his wishes at once. He was excited, by the active spirit of his brother, to rise above humble solicitations to his parliament; and was

A. D. beset by some desperate counsellors, who im- 1670. portuned and encouraged him to assert his own independence. The principal of those were Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto distinguished by the appellation of the Cabal, a word containing the initial letters of their names. Ne-

ver was there a more dangerous ministry in England, or one more fitted to destroy all that liberty had been establishing for ages.

Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of a daring and impetuous spirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence and intrigue. Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of Lord Shaftesbury, was the most extraordinary man of his age: he had been a member of the long parliament, and had great influence among the presbyterians; he was a favourite of Cromwell, and afterwards had a considerable hand in the Restoration; he was turbulent, ambitious, subtle, and enterprising; well acquainted with the blind attachment of parties, he surmounted all shame; and while he had the character of never betraying any of his friends, yet he changed his party as it suited his convenience. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, of some wit, and great vivacity, well fitted to unite and harmonise the graver tempers of which this junto was composed. Arlington was a man of moderate capacity; his intentions were good, but he wanted courage to persevere in them. The duke of Lauderdale was not defective in natural, and still less in acquired talents: but neither was his address graceful, nor his understanding just; he was ambitious, obstinate, insolent, and sullen. These were the men to whom Charles gave up the conduct of his affairs, and who plunged the remaining part of his reign in difficulties which produced the most dangerous symptoms.

A secret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland, were the first consequences of their advice. The duke of York had the confidence boldly to declare himself a catholic; and, to alarm the fears of the nation still more, a liberty of conscience was allowed to all sectaries, whether protestant dissenters or papists. These measures were considered by the people as destructive,

not only of their liberties, but of their religion, which they valued more. A proclamation was issued, containing very rigorous clauses in favour of pressing; another full of menaces against those who ventured to speak undutifully of his majesty's measures; and even against those who heard such discourses, unless they informed in due time against the offenders. These measures, though still within bounds, were yet no way suitable to that legal administration, which upon his restoration, he had promised to establish.

The English now saw themselves engaged in a league with France against the Dutch; and, consequently, whether victorious or vanquished, their efforts were like to be equally unsuccessful. The French had for some years been growing into power; and now under the conduct of their ambitious monarch, Louis XIV., they began to threaten the liberties of Europe, and particularly the protestant religion, of which that prince had shown himself a determined enemy. It gave the people, therefore, a gloomy prospect to see a union formed, which, if successful, must totally subvert that balance of power which the protestants aimed at preserving; nor were they less apprehensive of their own sovereign, who, though he pretended to turn all religion to ridicule in his gayer hours, yet was secretly attached to the catholics, or was very much suspected of being so. The first events of this war were very correspondent to their fears of A. D. French treachery. The English and French 1672. combined fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the marechal d'Etrées, met the Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety sail, commanded by admiral De Ruyter; and a furious battle ensued. In this engagement, the gallant Sandwich, who commanded the English van, drove his ship into the midst of the enemy, bent off the admiral that ventured to attack him, sunk

one ship that attempted to board him, and also three fire-ships. Though his vessel was torn with shot, and out of a thousand men there only remained four hundred, he still continued to thunder with his artillery in the midst of the engagement. At last a fire-ship, more fortunate than the former, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Sandwich, however, refused to quit his ship, though warned by Sir Edward Haddock his captain; he perished in the flames, while the engagement continued to rage all around him. Night parted the combatants; the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss sustained by the two maritime powers was nearly equal; but the French suffered very little, not having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was even supposed that they had orders for this conduct, and to spare their own ships, while the Dutch and English should grow weak by their mutual animosities.

The combined powers were much more successful against the Dutch by land. Louis conquered all before him, crossed the Rhine, took all the frontier towns of the enemy, and threatened the new republic with a final dissolution. Terms were proposed to them by the two conquerors. Louis offered them such as would have deprived them of all power of resisting an invasion from France by land. Those of Charles exposed them equally to every invasion from sea. At last, the murmurs of the English, at seeing this brave and industrious people, the supporters of the protestant cause, totally sunk, and on the brink of destruction, were too loud not to impress the king. He was obliged to re-assemble the parliament, to take the sense of A. D. the nation upon his conduct; and he soon saw 1673. how his subjects stood affected.

The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were

fixed upon this meeting of the parliament. Before the commons entered upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a constant practice in the house for many years, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections; but by Shaftesbury's advice, several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the chancellor; so that the whole house in time might be filled with members clandestinely called up by the court. The house was no sooner assembled, and the speaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made against this method of election; and the members themselves, thus called to parliament, had the modesty to withdraw.

The king's late declaration of indulgence to all sectaries was next taken into consideration, and a remonstrance drawn up against that exercise of the prerogative. The commons persisted in their opposition to it; and represented that such a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and the two houses. Charles, therefore, found himself obliged reluctantly to retract his declaration; but, that he might do it with a better grace, he asked the opinion of the house of peers, who advised him to comply. The commons expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure, and the most entire duty to the king. He, on his part, assured them, that he would willingly pass any law which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances.

Having abridged the king's stretches of power in these points, they went still farther, and resolved to make the conformity of national principles still more general. A law was passed, entitled the Test Act, imposing an oath on all who should enjoy any public of-

fice. Besides the taking the oaths of allegiance and the king's supremacy, they were obliged to receive the sacrament once a year in the established church, and to adjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the dissenters had also seconded the efforts of the commons against the king's declaration for indulgence, a bill was passed for their ease and relief, which, however, went with some difficulty through the house of peers.

But still the great object of their meeting was to be inquired into; for the war against the Dutch continued to rage with great animosity. Several sea-engagements succeeded each other very rapidly, which brought on no decisive action; both nations claiming the victory after every battle. The commons, therefore, weary of the war, and distrustful even of success, resolved that the standing army was a grievance. They next declared, that they would grant no more supplies to carry on the Dutch war, unless it appeared that the enemy continued so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions. To cut short these disagreeable altercations, the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and, with that intention, he went unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sent the usher of the black rod to summon the house of commons to attend. It happened that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, "To the chair!" Upon which the following motions were instantly made in a tumultuous manner: That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors of the king were a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance: and then the house rose in great confusion. The king soon saw that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on the war, which was so odious

to them; he resolved, therefore, to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on terms which they had proposed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. For form's sake he asked the advice of his parliament, and D. who concurring heartily in his intentions, a peace 1674. was concluded accordingly.

This turn in the system of the king's politics was very pleasing to the nation in general; but the Cabal quickly saw that it would be the destruction of all their future attempts and power. Shaftesbury, therefore, was the first to desert them, and to go over to the country party, who received him with open arms, and trusted him with unbounded reserve. Clifford was dead. Buckingham was desirous of imitating Shaftesbury's example. Lauderdale and Arlington were exposed to all the effects of national resentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against the former, which, however, were never prosecuted; and as for the other, he every day grew more and more out of favour with the king, and contemptible to the people. This was an end of the power of a junto that had laid a settled plan for overturning the constitution, and fixing unlimited monarchy upon its ruins.

In the mean time, the war between the Dutch and the French went on with the greatest vigour; and, although the latter were repressed for a while, they still continued making encroachments upon the enemy's territories. The Dutch forces were commanded by the prince of Orange, who was possessed of courage, activity, vigilance, and patience; but he was inferior in genius to the consummate generals who were opposed to him. He was, therefore, always unsuccessful; but still found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against his victorious enemies. These ineffectual struggles for the preservation of his country's

freedom interested the English strongly in his favour; so that, from being his opposers, they now wished to lend him assistance. They considered their alliance with France as threatening subversion to the protestant religion; and they longed for an union with him, as the only means of security. The commons there- A. D. fore addressed the king, representing the danger 1677. to which the kingdom was exposed from the growing greatness of France: and they assured him, in case of a war, that they would not be backward in their supplies. Charles was not displeased with the latter part of their address, as money was necessary for his pleasures. He therefore told them, that unless they granted him six hundred thousand pounds, it would be impossible for him to give them a satisfactory answer. The commons refused to trust to his majesty's professions; his well-known profusion was before their eyes. The king reproved them for their diffidence, and immediately ordered them to adjourn. The marriage of the duke of York's eldest daughter, the princess Mary, who had a fair prospect of the crown, with the prince of Orange, was a measure that gave great satisfaction in these general disquietudes about religion. The negotiation was brought about by the king's own desire; and the protestants now saw a happy prospect before them of a succession that would be favourable to their much-loved Reformation. A negotiation for peace between the French and the Dutch followed soon after, which was rather favourable to the latter. But the mutual animosities of these states not being as yet sufficiently quelled, the war was continued for some time. The king therefore, to satisfy his parliament, who declared loudly against the French, sent over an army of three thousand men to the continent under the com- A. D. mand of the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ost- 1678.

was afterwards chaplain to a man-of-war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he was for some time maintained in the English seminary of that city. The fathers of that college sent him with some dispatches to Spain ; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue among them ; so that he was obliged to return to London, where he was ready to encounter every danger for his support. At a time when he was supposed to have been entrusted with a secret involving the fate of kings, he was allowed to remain in such necessity that Kirby was obliged to supply him with daily bread.

He had two methods of proceeding; either to ingratiate himself by this information with the ministry, or to alarm the people, and thus turn their fears to his advantage. He chose the latter method. He went, therefore, with his two companions to sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and before him deposed to a narrative dressed up in terrors fit to make an impression on the vulgar. The pope, he said, considered himself as entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of the prince and people, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of those kingdoms. This, which was St. Peter's patrimony, he had delivered up to the Jesuits; and Oliva, the general of that order, was his delegate. Several English catholic lords, whose names he mentioned, were appointed by the pope to the other offices of state: lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, sir William Godolphin privy-seal, Coleman, the duke's secretary, was made secretary of state, Langhorne attorney-general, lord Bellasis general of the forces, lord Petre lieutenant-general, and lord Stafford

paymaster. The king, whom the Jesuits called the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried by them, and condemned as a heretic. He asserted, that father Le Shee, meaning the French king's confessor La Chaise, had offered ten thousand pounds to any man who should kill the king. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to sir George Wakeman to poison him ; but he was mercenary, and demanded fifteen thousand ; which demand was complied with. Lest these means should fail, four Irish ruffians had been employed by the Jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas for each, to stab the king at Windsor. Coleman was deeply involved in the plot, and had given a guinea to the messenger who carried orders for the assassination. Grove and Pickering, to make sure work, were employed to shoot the king, and that too with silver bullets. The former was to receive fifteen hundred pounds for his pains ; the latter, being a pious man, thirty thousand masses. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint dropped out of his pistol at one time, and at another the priming. Oates went on to say that he himself was chiefly employed in carrying notes and letters among the Jesuits, all tending to the same end of murdering the king. A wager of a hundred pounds was made, and the money deposited, that the king should eat no more Christmas pies. The great fire of London had been the work of the Jesuits ; several other fires were resolved on, and a paper model was already framed for firing the city anew. Fire-balls were called among them Tewkesbury mustard-pills. Twenty thousand catholics in London were prepared to rise ; and Coleman had remitted two hundred thousand pounds to assist the rebels in Ireland. The crown was to be offered to the duke of York, in consequence of the success of these probable schemes, on condition of ex-

tirpating the protestant religion. Upon his refusal—"To pot James must go," as the Jesuits were said to express it.

In consequence of this dreadful information sufficiently marked with absurdity, vulgarity, and contradiction, Titus Oates became the favourite of the people; although, during his examination before the council, he so betrayed the grossness of his impostures, that he contradicted himself in every step of his narration. While in Spain, he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance to the execution of the catholic designs. The king asked him what sort of a man his old acquaintance Don John was. Oates replied, that he was a tall lean man; which was directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew. Though he pretended a great intimacy with Coleman, yet he knew him not when placed very near him, and had no other excuse than that his sight was bad by candle-light. He was guilty of the same mistake with regard to sir George Wakeman.

But these improbabilities had no weight against the general wish, if I may so express it, that they should be true. The violent animosity which had been excited against the catholics in general, made the people find a gloomy pleasure in hoping for an opportunity of satisfying their hatred. The more improbable any account seemed, the more unlikely it was that any impostor should invent improbabilities, and therefore it appeared more like truth.

A great number of the Jesuits mentioned by Oates were immediately taken into custody. Coleman, who was said to have acted so strenuous a part in the conspiracy, at first retired; but next day surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and some of his papers, by Oates's directions, were secured. These papers,

which were such as might be naturally expected from a zealous catholic in his situation, were converted into very dangerous evidence against him. He had without doubt maintained, with the French king's confessor, the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and other catholics abroad, a close correspondence, in which there was a distant project on foot for bringing back popery, upon the accession of the duke of York. But these letters contained nothing that served as proof in the present information; and their very silence in that respect, though they appeared imprudent enough in others, was a proof against Oates's pretended discovery. However, when the contents of those letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic which the former narrative had begun. The two plots were brought to strengthen each other, and confounded into one. Coleman's letters showed there had actually been designs on foot, and Oates's narrative was supposed to give the particulars.

In this fluctuation of passions, an accident served to confirm the prejudices of the people, and put it beyond a doubt that Oates's narrative was nothing but the truth. Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, who had been so active in developing the whole mystery of the popish machinations, after having been missing some days, was found dead in a ditch near Primrose hill, in the way to Hampstead. His own sword was thrust through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound; so that it appeared he was dead some time before this method was taken to deceive the public. He had money in his pockets; and there was a broad livid mark quite round his neck, which was dislocated. The cause of his death remains, and must still continue, a secret; but the people, already enraged against the papists, did not hesitate a moment to ascribe it to them. All doubts of the veracity of Oates vanished; the voice of

the whole nation united against them ; and the populace were exasperated to such a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general massacre of that unhappy sect. The body of Godfrey was carried through the streets in procession, preceded by seventy clergymen ; and every one who saw it, made no doubt that his death could be caused by the papists only. Even the better sort of people were infected with this vulgar prejudice ; and such was the general conviction of popish guilt, that no person, with any regard to personal safety, could express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates, or the murder of Godfrey.

It only remained for the parliament to repress these delusions, and to bring back the people to calm and deliberate inquiry. But the parliament testified greater credulity than even the vulgar. The cry of "plot" was immediately echoed from one house to another : the country party would not let slip such an opportunity of managing the passions of the people ; the courtiers were afraid of being thought disloyal, if they should doubt the innocence of the pretended assassins of their king. Danby, the prime minister, entered into it very furiously ; and though the king told him that he had thus given the houses a handle to ruin himself, and to disturb the affairs of government, yet this minister persevered, till he found the king's prognostic but too true.

The king himself, whose safety was thus threatened and defended, was the only person who treated the plot with becoming contempt. He made several efforts for stifling an inquiry, which was likely to involve the kingdom in confusion, and must at any rate hurt his brother, who had more than once professed his resolution to defend the catholic religion.

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, an ad-

dress was voted for a solemn fast. It was requested that all papers tending to throw light upon so horrible a conspiracy might be laid before the house, that all papists should remove from London, that access should be denied at court to all unknown and suspicious persons, and that the trained bands in London and Westminster should be in readiness to march. They voted, after hearing Oates's evidence, that there was a damnable and hellish plot contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the king, and for rooting out the protestant religion. Oates, who had acknowledged the accusations against his morals to be true, was, however, recommended by parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, and encouraged by a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year to proceed in forging new informations.

The encouragement given to Oates did not fail to bring in others also, who hoped to profit by the delusion of the times. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was, like the former, of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and had frequently passed himself for a man of quality. This man, at his own desire, was arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London, where he declared before the council that he had seen the body of sir Edmondbury Godfrey at Somerset-house, where the queen lived. He said that a servant of lord Bellasis offered to give him four thousand pounds if he would carry it off. He was questioned about the plot, but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also asserted that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, however, he thought it would be better to share the emoluments of the plot, and he gave an ample account of it. This narrative he made to tally

as well as he could with the information of Oates, which had been published; but to render it the more acceptable, he added some circumstances of his own, still more tremendous, and still more absurd, than those of Oates. He said that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington-bay, and were immediately to seize Hull. He affirmed that the lords Powis and Petre had undertaken to raise an army in Radnorshire; that fifty thousand men were ready to rise in London; that he himself had been tampered with to murder a *man*, and was to receive four thousand pounds for that service, beside the pope's blessing; that the king was to be assassinated, the protestants butchered, and the kingdom offered to One, if he would consent to hold it of the church; if not, the pope should continue to govern without him. He likewise accused the lords Carrington and Brudenel, who were committed to custody by order of parliament. But the most terrible part of all was, that Spain was to invade England with forty thousand men, who were ready at St. Iago in the character of pilgrims; though at this time Spain was actually unable to raise ten thousand men to supply her own garrisons in Flanders.

These narrations carry their own refutation; the infamy of the witnesses, the contradiction in their testimony, the improbability of it, the low vulgarity of the information, unlike what men trusted with great affairs, would be apt to form, all these serve to raise our horror against these base villains, and our pity at the delusion of the times that could credit such reports. In order to give a confident air to the discovery, Bedloe published a pamphlet, with this title, "A Narrative and impartial Discovery of the horrid Popish Plot carried on for burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster with their Suburbs, &c. by Captain William Bedloe,

lately engaged in that horrid Design, and one of the Popish Committees for carrying an such Fires." The papists were thus become so obnoxious, that vote after vote passed against them in the house of commons. They were called idolaters; and such as did not concur in acknowledging the truth of the epithet were expelled the house without ceremony. Even the duke of York was permitted to keep his place in the house by a majority of only two. "I would not," said one of the lords, "have so much as a popish man or a popish woman to remain here, not so much as a popish dog or a popish bitch, not so much as a popish cat to mew or pur about our king." This was wretched eloquence; but it was admirably suited to the times.

Encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witnesses, who all along had enlarged their narratives in proportion as they were greedily received, went a step farther, and ventured to accuse the queen. The commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; the lords rejected it with becoming disdain. The king received the news of it with his usual good-humour. "They think," said he, "that I have a mind to a new wife; but I will not suffer an innocent woman to be abused." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants. But his favour with the parliament soon procured his release.

Coleman was the first who was brought to trial, as being most obnoxious to those who pretended to fear the introduction of popery. His letters were produced against him. They plainly testified a violent zeal for the catholic cause; and that alone at present was sufficient to convict him. But Oates and Bedloe came in to make his condemnation sure. The former swore that he had sent fourscore guineas to a ruffian who

undertook to kill the king. The date of the transaction he fixed in the month of August, but would not fix the particular day. Coleman could have proved that he was in the country the greatest part of that month, and therefore the witness would not be particular. Bedloe swore that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the Jesuits, appointing him a papal secretary of state, and that he had consented to the king's assassination. After this unfortunate man's sentence, thus procured by these vipers, many members of both houses offered to interpose in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession; but as he was, in reality, possessed of no treasonable secrets, he would not procure life by falsehood and imposture. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

A. D. The trial of Coleman was succeeded by those 1679. of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove. Ireland, a Jesuit, was accused by Oates and Bedloe, the only witnesses against him; and they swore that he was one of the fifty Jesuits who had signed the great resolve against the king. He affirmed, and proved that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August, a time when Oates asserted he was in London. The jury brought him in guilty, and the judge commended their verdict. It was in the same manner sworn that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves by an oath to assassinate the king, and had provided themselves with screwed pistols and silver bullets. Without regard to their own opposite declarations, they were found guilty. All these unhappy men went to execution protesting their innocence; a circumstance which made no impression on the spectators; their being Jesuits banished even pity from their sufferings.

The animosities of the people, however, seemed a

little appeased by the execution of these four; but a new train of evidence was now discovered, that kindled the flame once more. One Miles Prance, a goldsmith, and a professed Roman catholic, had been accused by Bedloe, of being an accomplice in sir Edmondbury's murder; and, upon his denial, had been loaded with heavy irons, and thrown into the condemned hold, a place cold, dark, and noisome. There the poor wretch lay groaning, and exclaiming that he was not guilty; but being next day carried before lord Shaftesbury, and threatened with severe punishment in case of obstinacy, he demanded if a confession would procure his pardon. Being assured of that, he had no longer courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. He soon after, however, retracted his evidence before the king; but the same rigours being employed against him, he was induced to confirm his first information. The murder, he said, was committed in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerard and Kelly, two Irish priests; that Laurence Hill, footman to the queen's treasurer, Robert Green, cushion-keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter of the palace, followed sir Edmondbury at a distance, from ten in the morning till seven in the evening; but that passing by Somerset-house, Green throwing a twisted handkerchief over his head, he was soon strangled, and the body carried to a high chamber in Somerset-house, whence it was removed to another apartment, where it was seen by Bedloe.

Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried upon this evidence: though Bedloe's narrative and Prance's information were totally irreconcilable, and though their testimony was invalidated by contrary evidence, all was in vain: the prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at execution; and,

as Berry died a protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable. But, instead of stopping the current of credulity, it only increased the people's animosity against a protestant, who could at once be guilty of a popish plot, of murder, and of denying it in his last moments.

This frightful persecution continued for some time; and the king, contrary to his own judgment, was obliged to give way to the popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were brought to their trial: Langhorne soon after. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man spread the alarm still farther, and even asserted that two hundred thousand papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omer's, that Oates was in that seminary at the time he swore he was in London. But, as they were papists, their testimony could gain no manner of credit. All pleas availed them nothing; the Jesuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, with their latest breath denying the crimes for which they died.

The informers had less success on the trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who, though they swore with their usual animosity, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt; and it is probable the judge and jury were afraid of venturing so far.

The viscount Stafford was the last man that fell a sacrifice to these bloody wretches: the witnesses produced against him were Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates swore that he saw Fenwick, the Jesuit, deliver to Stafford a commission from the general of the Jesuits, constituting him pay-master of the papal army.

Dugdale gave testimony that the prisoner had endeavoured to engage him in the design of murdering the king. Turberville affirmed that Stafford, in his own house at Paris, had made him the same proposal. The clamour and outrage of the populace against the prisoner, were very great; he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged and quartered; but the king changed the sentence into that of beheading. He was executed on Tower-hill, where even his persecutors could not forbear shedding tears at the serene fortitude which shone in every feature, motion, and accent, of this aged nobleman. Some other lords, who were taken up and imprisoned upon the former evidence, were tried and acquitted some time after, when the people began to recover from their phrensy.

But while these prosecutions were going forward, raised by the credulity of the people, and seconded by the artifice of the parliament, other designs equally vindictive were carried on. The lord-treasurer Danby was impeached in the house of commons by Seymour his enemy. The principal charge against him was his having written a letter to Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, directing him to sell the king's good offices at the treaty of Nimeguen to the king of France, for a certain sum of money; contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even those of his own kingdom. This was a charge he could not deny; and, though the king was more culpable than the minister, yet the prosecution was carried on against him with rigour. But he had the happiness to find the king resolved to defend him. Charles assured the parliament that, as he had acted in every thing by his orders, he deemed him entirely blameless; and though he would deprive him of all his employments, yet he would positively insist on his personal safety. The lords were obliged to submit:

however, they went on to impeach him, and Danby was sent to the Tower; but no worse consequences ensued.

These furious proceedings had all been carried on by a house of commons that had now continued undissolved for above seventeen years; the king, therefore, was resolved to try a new one, which he knew could not be more unmanageable than the former. However, the new parliament did not in the least abate of the activity and obstinacy of their predecessors. The king, indeed, changed his council, by the advice of sir William Temple, and admitted into it many of both parties, by which he hoped to appease his opponents; but the antipathy to popery had taken too fast a possession of men's minds to be removed by so feeble a remedy. This house resolved to strike at the root of the evil which threatened them from a popish successor; and, after some deliberations, a bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the duke of York from the crowns of England and Ireland. It was by that intended that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession to the duke; and that all acts of royalty which this prince should afterwards perform should not only be void, but deemed treason. This important bill passed the lower house by a majority of seventy-nine.

Nor did their efforts rest here: the commons voted the king's standing army and guards to be illegal. They proceeded to establish limits to the king's power of imprisoning delinquents at will. It was now that the celebrated statute called the Habeas-Corpus act was passed, which confirms the subject in an absolute security from oppressive power. By this act, it was prohibited to send any one to prisons beyond the sea: no judge, under severe penalties, was to refuse to any prisoner his writ of *habeas-corpus*, by which the gaoler was

to produce in court the body of the prisoner, whence the writ had its name, and to certify the cause of his imprisonment and detention. If the gaol lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days, and so proportionably for greater distances. Every prisoner must be indicted the first term of his commitment, and brought to trial the subsequent term; and no man, after being enlarged by court, can be re-committed for the same offence.

This law alone would have been sufficient to endear the parliament that made it to posterity; and it would have been well if they had rested there. The duke of York had retired to Brussels during these troubles; but an indisposition of the king led him back to England, to be ready, in case of any sinister accident, to assert his right to the throne. After prevailing upon his brother to disgrace the duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the king, by one Mrs. Walters, and now become very popular, he himself retired to Scotland, under pretence of still quieting the apprehensions of the English nation; but, in reality, to strengthen his interests there. This session served still more to inflame the country party, who were strongly attached to the duke of Monmouth, and were resolved to support him against the duke of York. Mobs, petitions, pope-burnings, were artifices employed to keep up the terrors of popery, and alarm the court. The parliament had shown favour to the various tribes of informers, and that served to increase the number of these miscreants; but plots themselves also became more numerous. Plot was set up against plot; and the people were kept still suspended in dreadful apprehension.

The Meal-Tub Plot, as it was called, was brought forward to the public on this occasion. One Dangerfield, more infamous, if possible, than Oates and Bedloe,

a wretch who had been set in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported, for felony and coining, hatched a plot in conjunction with a midwife, whose name was Cellier, a Roman-catholic, of abandoned character. Dangerfield began by declaring that there was a design on foot to set up a new form of government, and remove the king and the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who supplied him with money, and countenanced his discovery. He hid some seditious papers in the lodgings of colonel Mansel; and then conducted the custom-house officers to his apartment, to search for smuggled merchandise. The papers were found; and the council, having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be searched; and in the house of Cellier the whole scheme of the conspiracy was discovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub; whence the plot had its name. Dangerfield, being committed to Newgate, made an ample confession of the forgery, which, though probably entirely of his own contrivance, he ascribed to the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower. He said that the design was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of sodomy and perjury upon Oates, to assassinate the earl of Shaftesbury, to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Halifax, and others, of having been concerned in the conspiracy against the king and his brother. Upon this information the earl of Castlemain and the countess of Powis were sent to the Tower, and the king himself was suspected of encouraging this imposture.

But it was not by plots alone the adverse parties endeavoured to supplant each other. Tumultuous petitions on the one hand, and flattering addresses on the

other, were sent up from all quarters. Wherever the country party prevailed, petitions, filled with grievances and apprehensions, were sent to the king with an air of humble insolence. Wherever the church, or the court-party prevailed, addresses were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, and the deepest *abhorrence* of those who endeavoured to disturb the public tranquillity. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrrers*. Whig and Tory also were first used as terms of mutual reproach at this time. The Whigs were so denominated from a cant name given to the sour Scotch conventiclers (*whig* being milk turned sour). The Tories were denominated from the Irish banditti so called, whose usual manner of bidding people deliver was by the Irish word *toreé*, or give me.

As this parliament seemed even to surpass the former in jealousy and resentment, the king was induced to dissolve it; and could willingly have never applied to another. But his necessities, caused by his want of œconomy, and his numberless needy dependents, obliged him to call another. However, every change A. D. seemed only to inflame the evil; and his new 1680. parliament seemed willing to outdo even their predecessors. Every step they took betrayed that zeal with which they were animated. They voted the legality of petitioning to the king; they fell with extreme violence on the abhorrrers, who, in their addresses to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of those petitions. Great numbers of these were seized by their order, from all parts of England, and committed to close custody: and the liberty of the subject, which had been so carefully guarded by their own recent law, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. One Stawell of Exeter was the person that put a stop to

their proceedings; he refused to obey the serjeant at arms who was sent to apprehend him; he stood upon his defence, and said he knew no law by which they pretended to commit him. The house, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an evasion. They inserted in their votes, that Stawell was indisposed; and a month's time was allowed him for his recovery. It is happy for the nation, that, should the commons at any time overleap the bounds of their authority, and order men capriciously to be committed to prison, there is no power, in case of resistance, that can compel the prisoner to submit to their decrees.

But the chief point which the commons laboured to obtain, was the *Exclusion Bill*, which, though the former house had voted it, was never passed into a law. Shaftesbury, and many considerable men of the party, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the duke of York, that they could find safety in no measure but his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of James would make room for their own patron. The catholic bigotry of the duke of York influenced numbers; and his tyrannies, which were practised without control while he continued in Scotland, rendered his name odious to thousands. In a week, therefore, after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for bringing in an exclusion bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides; the bill was defended by lord Russel, sir William Jones, sir Francis Winnington, sir Henry Capel, sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hampden, and Montague. It was opposed by sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state; sir John Ernley, chancellor of the exchequer; by Hyde, Seymour, and Temple. The bill passed by a great majority in the house of commons, but was opposed in the house of

peers with better success. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex argued for it. Halifax chiefly conducted the arguments against it. The king was present during the whole debate, and had the pleasure of seeing the bill thrown out by a great majority. All the bishops, except three, voted against it; for they were of opinion that the church of England was in much greater danger from the prevalence of presbyterianism than of popery.

The commons were extremely mortified and enraged at the rejection of their favourite bill; and, to show how strongly they resented the indulgence that was shown to popery, they passed a bill for easing the protestant dissenters, and for repealing such acts as tended to their persecution. They proceeded to bring in bills, which, though contributing to secure the liberty of the subject, yet probably at that period were only calculated to excite them to insurrection. They had thoughts of renewing the triennial act; of continuing the judges in their offices during good behaviour; of ordering an association for the defence of his majesty's person, and the security of the protestant religion. They voted that till the exclusion bill should be enacted, they could not, consistently with the trust reposed in them, grant the king any supply; and, to prevent his taking other methods to get money, they voted, that whoever should advance money upon any branches of the king's revenue, should be responsible to parliament for his conduct. The king, finding that there were no hopes of extorting either money or obedience from the commons, A. D. came to a resolution of once more dissolving the 1681. parliament. His usher of the black-rod accordingly came to dissolve them, while they were voting that the dissenters should be encouraged, and the papists had burned the city of London.

The parliament thus dissolved, it was considered as

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a doubt, whether the king would ever call another : however, the desire he had of being supplied with money surmounted his fears from every violence a parliament might offer. But it had always been supposed that the neighbourhood of London, at once both potent and factious, was an improper place for assembling a parliament that would be steadfast in the king's interests; he therefore resolved at once to punish the Londoners, by showing his suspicions of their loyalty, and to reward the inhabitants of Oxford by bringing down his parliament to that city. Accordingly a parliament was ordered to assemble at Oxford; and measures were taken on both sides to engage the partisans to be strenuous in their resolutions. In this, as in the late parliament, the country party predominated: the parliamentary leaders came to that city, attended not only by their servants, but with numerous bands of their retainers. The four London members were followed by great multitudes wearing ribands, in which were woven these words, " No popery ! No slavery !" The king was not behind them in the number and formidable appearance of his guards ; so that the parliament rather bore the appearance of a military congress than of a civil assembly.

This parliament trod exactly in the steps of the former. The commons, having chosen the same speaker who had filled the chair in the last parliament, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of their deliberations. The bill for exclusion was more fiercely urged than ever. Ernley, one of the king's ministers, proposed that the duke should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England; and that, upon the king's death, the next heir should be constituted regent, with regal power. Yet even this expedient, which left the duke the bare title of king, could not obtain the attention of

the house. Nothing but a total exclusion could satisfy them.

Each party had now for some time reviled and ridiculed each other in pamphlets and libels; and this practice, at last, was attended with an incident that deserves notice. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependent on the duchess of Portsmouth, one of the king's mistresses, used to supply her with these occasional publications. But he was resolved to add to their number, by his own endeavours; and employed one Everard, a Scotchman, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot was actually a spy for the opposite party; and, supposing this a trick to entrap him, he discovered the whole to sir William Waller, an eminent justice of peace; and, to convince him of the truth of his information, posted him and two other persons privately, where they heard the whole conference between Fitzharris and himself. The libel, composed between them, was replete with rancour and scurrility. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened at that very time to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Seeing himself in the hands of a party from which he expected no mercy, he resolved to side with them, and throw the odium of the libel upon the court, who, he said, were willing to draw up a libel which should be imputed to the exclusionists, and thus render them hateful to the people. He enhanced his services with the country party by a new popish plot, still more tremendous than any of the foregoing. He brought in the duke of York as a principal accomplice in this plot, and as a contriver in the murder of sir Edmondbury Godfrey.

The king imprisoned Fitzharris; the commons avowed his cause. They voted that he should be impeached by themselves, to screen him from the ordinary forms of

justice; the lords rejected the impeachment; the commons asserted their right; a commotion was likely to ensue; and the king, to break off the contest, went to the house and dissolved the parliament, with a fixed resolution never to call another.

This vigorous measure was a blow that the parliament did not expect; and nothing but the necessity of the times could have justified the king's manner of proceeding. From that moment, which ended the parliamentary commotions, Charles seemed to rule with despotic power; and he was resolved to leave the succession to his brother, but clogged with all the faults and misfortunes of his own administration. His temper, which had always been easy and merciful, now became arbitrary, and even cruel; he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all such as he thought most daring in their designs.

He resolved to humble the presbyterians: these were divested of their employments and their places, and their offices given to such as held with the court, and approved the doctrine of non-resistance. The clergy began to testify their zeal and their principles by their writings and their sermons; but, though among these the partisans of the king were the most numerous, those of the opposite faction were the most enterprising. The king openly espoused the cause of the former; and thus placing himself at the head of a faction, he deprived the city of London, which had long headed the popular party, of their charter. It was not till after an abject submission that he restored it to them, having previously subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority.

Terrors also were not wanting to confirm this new species of monarchy. Fitzharris was brought to his trial before a jury, and condemned and executed. The

whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, who had long been encouraged and supported by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their ancient drivers, and offered their evidence against those who had first put them in motion. The king's ministers, with a horrid satisfaction, gave them countenance and encouragement; so that soon the same cruelties and the same injustice were practised against presbyterian schemes that had been employed against catholic treasons.

The first person that fell under the displeasure of the ministry was one Stephen College, a London joiner, who had become so noted for his zeal against popery, that he went by the name of the Protestant Joiner. He had attended the city members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol: he had sometimes been heard to speak irreverently of the king, and was now presented by the grand jury of London as guilty of sedition. The sheriffs of London were in strong opposition to the court; and the grand jury, named by them, rejected the bill against College. However, the court were not to be foiled so; they sent the prisoner to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed, and there tried him before a partial judge and a packed jury. He was accused by Dugdale, Turberville, and others who had already given evidence against the catholics; and the nation saw themselves reduced to a ridiculous dilemma upon their testimony. The jury, who were royalists, could not accept their evidence, as they believed them to be abandoned liars; nor yet could they reject it, as they were taught by their opponents to think their evidence sufficient for conviction. College defended himself with great presence of mind, and invalidated their testimony. But all was in vain. The jury, after half an hour's deliberation, brought him in

guilty, and the spectators testified their inhuman pleasure with a shout of applause. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude, and at the place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

But higher vengeance was demanded by the king, whose resentment was chiefly levelled against the earl of Shaftesbury; and not without reason. No sums were spared to seek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses, against this intriguing and formidable man. A bill of indictment being presented to the grand jury, witnesses were examined, who swore to such incredible circumstances as must have invalidated their testimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Among his papers, indeed, a draught of an association was found, which might have been construed into treason; but it was not in the earl's hand-writing, nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any body, or signified his approbation of any such project. The sheriffs had summoned a jury whose principles coincided with those of the earl: and that probably, more than any want of proof, procured his safety.

The power of the crown by this time became irresistible. The punishment of the city of London was so A. D. mortifying a circumstance, that all the other 1683. corporations in England soon began to fear the same treatment, and most of them were successively induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring these charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown. Resistance now, however justifiable, could not be safe; and all prudent men saw no other expedient, but peaceably submitting to the present grievances. But there was a party in England that still cherished their former ideas of free-

dom, and were resolved to hazard every danger in its defence.

This, like all other combinations, was made up of men, some guided by principle to the subversion of the present despotic power, some by interest, and many more by revenge. Some time before, in the year 1681, the king had been seized with a fit of sickness at Windsor, which gave a great alarm to the public. Shaftesbury had even then attempted to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and united with the duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, and lord Grey: in case of the king's death, they conspired to rise in arms, and vindicate their opinions by the sword. Shaftesbury's imprisonment and trial for some time put a stop to these designs; but they soon revived with his release. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, sir Gilbert Gerard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire. Lord Russel fixed a correspondence with sir William Courtenay, sir Francis Rowe, and sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the West. Shaftesbury, with one Ferguson, an independent clergyman, and a restless plotter, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. It was now that this turbulent man found his schemes most likely to take effect. After the disappointment and destruction of a hundred plots, he at last began to be sure of the present. But this scheme, like all the former, was disappointed. The caution of lord Russel, who induced the duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprise, saved the kingdom from the horrors of civil war; while Shaftesbury was so struck with a sense of his impending danger, that he left his house, and lurking about the city, attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners into open insurrection. At last, enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he threatened

to begin with his friends alone. However, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he abandoned all hopes of success, and fled out of the kingdom to Amsterdam, where he ended his turbulent life soon after, without being pitied by his friends or feared by his enemies.

The loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded the views of the conspirators, did not suppress them. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Russel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the great man of that name. These corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents in Scotland, and resolved to prosecute the scheme of the insurrection, though they widely differed in principles from each other. Monmouth aspired at the crown; Russel and Hampden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for restoring the republic, and Essex joined in the same wish. Lord Howard was an abandoned man, who, having no principles, sought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private interest in the confusion.

Such were the leaders of this conspiracy, and such their motives. But there was also a set of subordinate conspirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among these men were colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer, lieutenant-colonel Walcot, of the same stamp, Goodenough, under-sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party man, the dissenter Ferguson, and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen. But Rumsey and Ferguson were the only persons who had access to the great leaders of the conspiracy. These men in their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions. They proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket: Rumbold, one of the party, pos-

sessed a farm upon that road called the Rye-house ; and thence the conspiracy was denominated the Rye-house Plot. They deliberated upon a scheme of stopping the king's coach by overturning a cart on the highway at this place, and shooting him through the hedges. The house in which the king lived at Newmarket took fire accidentally, and he was obliged to leave Newmarket eight days sooner than was expected, to which circumstance his safety was ascribed.

Among the conspirators was one Keiling, who, finding himself in danger of a prosecution for arresting the lord-mayor of London, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsey, and West a lawyer, no sooner understood that this man had informed against them, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidence, and they surrendered themselves accordingly. Shephard, another conspirator, being apprehended, confessed all he knew, and general orders were soon issued out for apprehending the rest of the leaders of the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded ; Russel was sent to the Tower ; Grey escaped ; Howard was taken, concealed in a chimney ; Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, were soon after arrested, and had the mortification to find lord Howard an evidence against them.

Walcot was first brought to trial and condemned, together with Hone and Rouse, two associates in the conspiracy, upon the evidence of Rumsey, West, and Shephard. They died penitent, acknowledging the justice of the sentence by which they were executed. A much greater sacrifice was shortly after to follow. This was the lord Russel (son of the earl of Bedford), who had numberless good qualities, and had been led into this conspiracy from a conviction of the duke's intentions to restore popery. He was liberal, popular, humane, and

brave. All his virtues were so many crimes in the present suspicious disposition of the court. The chief evidence against him was lord Howard, a man of very bad character, one of the conspirators, who was now contented to take life upon such terms, and to accept of infamous safety. This witness swore that Russel was engaged in the design of an insurrection; but he acquitted him, as did also Rumsey and West, of being privy to the assassination. His own candour would not allow him to deny the design in which he really was concerned; but his own confession was not sufficient to convict him. To the fact which principally aimed at his life there was but one witness, and the law required two: this was overruled; for justice, during this whole reign, was too weak for the prevailing party. The jury, who were zealous royalists, after a short deliberation, pronounced the prisoner guilty. After his condemnation the king was strongly solicited in his favour. Even money to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds, was offered to the duchess of Portsmouth by the earl of Bedford. But Charles was inexorable. He dreaded the principles and popularity of lord Russel, and resented his former activity in promoting the bill of exclusion. Lord Cavendish, the intimate friend of Russel, offered to effect his escape, by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a prisoner in his room. The duke of Monmouth sent a message to him, offering to surrender himself, if he thought that step would contribute to his safety. Lord Russel generously rejected both these expedients, and resigned himself to his fate with admirable fortitude. His consort, the daughter and heiress of the earl of Southampton, finding that all supplications were vain, took leave of her husband without shedding a tear; while, as he parted from her, he turned to those about him—"Now," said he, "the bitterness

of death is over." Before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch—"I have now done with time," said he, "and must henceforth think of eternity." The scaffold for his execution was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; he laid his head on the block without the least change of countenance, and at two strokes it was severed from his body.

The celebrated Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to his trial. He had been formerly engaged in the parliamentary army against the late king, and was even named on the high court of justice that tried him, but had not taken his seat among the judges. He had ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation, and went into voluntary banishment upon the Restoration. His affairs, however, requiring his return, he applied to the king for a pardon, and obtained his request. But all his hopes and all his reasonings were formed upon republican principles. For his adored republic he had written and fought, and went into banishment, and ventured to return. It may easily be conceived how obnoxious a man of such principles was to a court that now was not even content with limitations to its power. The ministry went so far as to take illegal methods to procure his condemnation. The only witness that deposed against Sidney was lord Howard, and the law required two. In order, therefore, to make out a second witness, a very extraordinary expedient was adopted. In ransacking his closet some discourses on government were found in his own hand-writing, containing principles favourable to liberty, and in themselves no way subversive of a limited government. By overstraining some of these, they were construed into treason. It was in vain he alleged that papers were no evidence; that it could not be proved they were written by him; that, if proved, the papers themselves contained nothing

criminal. His defence was overruled; the violent and inhuman Jefferies, who was now chief-justice, easily prevailed on a partial jury to declare him guilty; and his execution soon followed.

One can scarcely contemplate the transactions of this reign without horror: such a picture of factious guilt on each side, a court at once immersed in sensuality and blood, a people armed against each other with the most deadly animosity, and no single party to be found with sense enough to stem the general torrent of rancour and factious suspicion.

Hampden was tried soon after; and as there was nothing to affect his life, he was fined forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, who had fled to the West Indies, was brought over, condemned and executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong also, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and shared the same fate. Lord Essex, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of suicide, or whether the bigotry of the times might not have induced some assassin to commit the crime, cannot now be known.

This was the last blood that was shed for an imputation of plots or conspiracies, which continued during the greatest part of this reign. Nevertheless the cruelty and the gloomy suspicion of the duke of York, who, since the dissolution of the last parliament, daily advanced in power, were dreadful to the nation. Titus Oates was fined a hundred thousand pounds for calling him a popish traitor; and he was imprisoned till he could pay it, which he was utterly incapable of. A like illegal sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt, for the same offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds, for having, in some private letters, reflected on the government. Of all those who were con-

cerned in the late conspiracy, scarcely one escaped the severity of the court, except the duke of Monmouth, and he was the most culpable of any.

At this period the government of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Europe ; but, to please his subjects by an act of popularity, he judged it proper to marry the lady Anne, his niece, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. This was one of the last transactions of this extraordinary reign. The king was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy ; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, yet he languished only for a few days, and Feb. 6, then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, 1685. and the twenty-fifth of his reign. During his illness some clergymen of the church of England attended him, to whom he discovered a total indifference. Catholic priests were brought to his bed-side, and from their hands he received the rites of their communion. Two papers were found in his closet, containing arguments in favour of that persuasion. These were soon after published by James his successor, by which he greatly injured his own popularity and his brother's memory.

CHAPTER XV.

JAMES II.

A. D. 1685—1688.

THE duke of York, who succeeded his brother by the title of king James the Second, had been bred a papist by his mother, and was strongly bigoted to his principles. It is the property of that religion almost ever to contract the sphere of the understanding ; and, until people are in some measure disengaged from its preju-

lices, it is impossible to lay a just claim to extensive views, or consistency of design. The intellects of this prince were naturally weak; and the education he had received rendered him still more feeble. He therefore conceived the impracticable project of reigning in the arbitrary manner of his predecessor, and of changing the established religion of his country, at a time when his person was hated, and the established religion passionately loved. The people, though they despised the administration of his predecessor, yet loved the king. They were willing to bear with the faults of one whose whole behaviour was a continued instance of affability; but they were by no means willing to grant the same indulgence to James, as they knew him to be gloomy, proud, bigoted, and cruel.

His reign began with acts of imprudence. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, that had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James, without a new act for that purpose. He likewise went openly to mass with all the ensigns of his dignity, and even sent one Caryl as his agent to Rome, to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the catholic church. These were but inauspicious symptoms in the very beginning of his reign; but the progress no way fell short of the commencement.

He had, long before the beginning of his reign, had an intrigue with Mrs. Sedley, whom he afterwards created countess of Dorchester; but being now told that as he was to convert his people, the sanctity of his manners ought to correspond with his professions, Mrs. Sedley was discarded, and he resigned himself to the advice of the queen, who was as much governed by priests as he. From the suggestions of these men, and particularly the Jesuits, all measures were taken. One

day, when the Spanish ambassador ventured to advise his majesty against placing too much confidence in such kind of people,—“Is it not the custom in Spain,” said James, “for the king to consult with his confessor?” “Yes,” answered the ambassador; “and that is the reason our affairs succeed so very ill.”

But though his actions might serve to demonstrate his aims, yet his first parliament, which was mostly composed of zealous Tories, were strongly biassed to comply with all the measures of the crown. They voted unanimously that they would settle on the present king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king at the time of his decease. For this favour James assured them of his resolution to secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but no answer could be extorted from him with regard to religion; for that he was secretly resolved to alter.

To pave the way for his intended conversion of his people, it was necessary to undeceive them with regard to the late rumour of a popish plot; and Oates, the contriver, was the first object of royal indignation. He was tried for perjury on two indictments: one, for swearing that he was present at a consultation of Jesuits in London, the twenty-fourth of April, 1679; and another for swearing that father Ireland was in London in the beginning of September of the same year. He was convicted on the evidence of above two and twenty persons on the first, and of twenty-seven on the latter indictment. His sentence was to pay a fine of a thousand marks on each indictment; to be whipped, on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. Oates, long accustomed to a life of infamy and struggle, supported himself under every punishment that justice could inflict.

He avowed his innocence; called Heaven to witness his veracity; and he knew that there was a large party who were willing to take his word. Though the whipping was so cruel, that it appeared evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that dreadful punishment, yet Oates survived it all, and lived to king William's reign, when he had a pension of four hundred pounds a year settled upon him. Thus Oates remains as a stain upon the times in every part of his conduct. It is a stain upon them that he was first believed; it is a stain upon them that he was caressed, that he was tyrannically punished, and that he was afterwards rewarded.

The duke of Monmouth, who had been, since his last conspiracy, pardoned, but ordered to depart from the kingdom, had retired to Holland. Being dismissed from that country, by the prince of Orange, upon James's accession, he went to Brussels, where, finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he resolved to retaliate, and make an attempt upon the kingdom. He had ever been the darling of the people; and some averred that Charles had married the duke's mother, and owned his legitimacy at his death. The earl of Argyle seconded his views in Scotland, and they formed the scheme of a double insurrection; so that while Monmouth should attempt to make a rising in the West, Argyle was also to try his endeavours in the North.

Argyle was the first who landed in Scotland, where he published his manifestoes, put himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men, and strove to influence the people in his cause. But a formidable body of the king's forces coming against him, his army fell away; and he himself, after being wounded in attempting to escape, was taken prisoner by a peasant, who found him

standing up to his neck in a pool. He was then carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed.

The fate of Argyle was but a bad encouragement to the unfortunate Monmouth, who landed in Dorsetshire with scarcely a hundred followers. However, his name was so popular, and so great was the hatred of the people both for the person and religion of James, that in four days he had assembled a body of above two thousand men. They were indeed all of them the lowest of the people, and his declarations were suited entirely to their prejudices. He called the king the duke of York, and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and a popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and Essex, and even the poisoning the late king.

The parliament was no sooner informed of Monmouth's landing, than they presented an address to the king, assuring him of their loyalty, zeal, and assistance. The duke of Albemarle, raising a body of four thousand militia, advanced, in order to block him up in Lyme; but, finding his soldiers disaffected to the king, he soon after retreated with precipitation.

In the mean time the duke advanced to Taunton, where he was reinforced by considerable numbers. Twenty young maids of some rank presented Monmouth with a pair of colours, their handiwork, together with a copy of the Bible. There he assumed the title of king, and was proclaimed with great solemnity. His numbers had now increased to six thousand men; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss numbers who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome, and was proclaimed in all those places; but he lost the hour of action, in receiving and claiming these empty honours.

The king was not a little alarmed at this invasion, but still more at the success of an undertaking that at first appeared so desperate. Six regiments of British troops were called over from Holland, and a body of regulars, to the number of three thousand men, were sent, under the command of the earl of Feversham, and Churchill, to check the progress of the rebels. They took post at Sedge-moor, near Bridgewater, and were joined by the militia of the country in considerable numbers. It was there that Monmouth resolved, by a desperate effort, to lose his life or gain the kingdom. The negligent disposition made by Feversham invited him to the attack; and his faithful followers showed what courage and principle could do against discipline and superior numbers. They drove the royal infantry from their ground, and were upon the point of gaining the victory, when the misconduct of Monmouth, and the cowardice of lord Grey, who commanded the horse, brought all to ruin. This nobleman fled at the first onset; and the rebels, being charged in flank by the victorious army, gave way, after three hours' contest. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit; and thus ended an enterprise rashly begun and feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horse sunk under him; he then exchanged clothes with a shepherd, and fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they both lay down in a field, and covered themselves with fern. The discovery of the shepherd in Monmouth's clothes, increased the diligence of the search; and by the means of blood-hounds he was detected in his miserable situation with raw peas in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life. He

burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and petitioned, with abject submission, for life. He wrote the most submissive letters to the king; and that monarch, willing to feast his eyes with the miseries of a fallen enemy, gave him an audience. At this interview the duke fell upon his knees, and begged his life in the most humiliating terms. He even signed a paper, offered him by the king, declaring his own illegitimacy; and then the stern tyrant assured him, that his crime was of such a nature as could not be pardoned. The duke, perceiving that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, recollected his spirits, rose up, and retired with an air of disdain. He was followed to the scaffold with great compassion from the populace. He warned the executioner not to fall into the same error which he had committed in beheading Russel, where it had been necessary to redouble the blow. But this only increased the severity of his punishment. The man was seized with an universal trepidation, and he struck a feeble blow; upon which the duke raised his head from the block, as if to reproach him; he gently laid down his head a second time, and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He at last threw the axe down; but the sheriff compelled him to resume the attempt, and at two blows more the head was severed from the body. Such was the end of James, duke of Monmouth, the darling of the English people. He was brave, sincere, and good-natured, open to flattery, and consequently seduced into an enterprise which exceeded his capacity.

But it would have been well for the insurgents, and fortunate for the king, if the blood that was now shed had been thought a sufficient expiation for the late offence. The victorious army behaved with the most savage cruelty to the prisoners taken after the battle.

The earl of Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged up above twenty prisoners; and he was proceeding in his executions, when the bishop of Bath and Wells warned him that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder. Nineteen were put to death in the same manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, a man of a savage and bloody disposition. This vile fellow, practised in the arts of slaughter at Tangier, where he had served in garrison, took a pleasure in committing instances of wanton barbarity. He ordered a certain number to be put to death, while he and his company were drinking the king's health. Observing their feet to shake in the agonies of death, he cried that they should have music to their dancing, and ordered the trumpets to sound. He ravaged the whole country, without making any distinction between friend or foe. His own regiment, for their peculiar barbarity, went by the name of Kirke's Lambs. A story is told of his offering a young woman the life of her brother, in case of her consenting to his desires, which when she had done, he showed her her brother hanging out of the window. But this is told of several others who have been notorious for cruelty, and may be the tale of malignity.

But the military severities of the commanders were still inferior to the legal slaughters committed by Judge Jefferies, who was sent down to try the delinquents. The natural brutality of this man's temper was inflamed by continual intoxication. He told the prisoners that, if they would save him the trouble of trying them, they might expect some favour, otherwise he would execute the law upon them with the utmost severity. Many poor wretches were thus allured into a confession, and found that it only hastened their destruction. No less

than eighty were executed at Dorchester; and, on the whole, in the western counties, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. Women were not exempted from the general severity, but suffered for harbouring their nearest kindred. Lady Lisle, though the widow of a regicide, was herself a loyalist. She was apprehended for having sheltered in her house two fugitives from the battle of Sedgemoor. She proved that she was ignorant of their crime when she had given them protection, and the jury seemed inclined to compassion: they twice brought in a favourable verdict; but they were as often sent back by Jefferies, with menaces and reproaches, and at last were constrained to give a verdict against the prisoner.

But the fate of Mrs. Gaunt was still more terrible. Mrs. Gaunt was an anabaptist, noted for her beneficence, which she had extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane character, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. The abandoned villain, hearing that a reward and indemnity were offered to such as informed against criminals, came in, and betrayed his protectress. His evidence was incontestable; the proofs were strong against her; he was pardoned for his treachery, and she burned alive for her benevolence.

The work of slaughter went forward. One Cornish, a sheriff, who had been long obnoxious to the court, was accused by Goodenough, now turned a common informer, and, in the space of a week, was tried, condemned, and executed. After his death, the perjury of the witnesses appeared so flagrant, that the king himself expressed some regret, granted his estate to the family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment. Jefferies, on his return, was immediately

created a peer, and was soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor. This showed the people that all the former cruelties were pleasing to the king, and that he was resolved to fix his throne upon severity.

It was not to be supposed that these slaughters could acquire the king the love or the confidence of his people; yet he thought this a very favourable juncture for carrying on his schemes of religion and arbitrary power. Such attempts in Charles, however unjust, were in some measure politic, as he had a republican faction to contend with; and it might have been prudent then to overstep justice, in order to obtain security. But the same designs in James were as imprudent as they were impracticable; the republicans were then diminished to an inconsiderable number, and the people were sensible of the advantages of a limited monarchy. However, James began to throw off the mask; and in the house of commons, by his speech, he seemed to think himself exempted from all rules of prudence or necessity of dissimulation. He told the house that the militia were found by experience to be of no use; that it was necessary to augment the standing army; and that he had employed many catholic officers, in whose favour he had thought proper to dispense with the test required to be taken by all intrusted by the crown: he found them useful, he said, and he was determined to keep them employed. These stretches of power naturally led the lords and commons into some degree of opposition; but they soon acquiesced in the king's measures; and then the parliament was dissolved for tardy compliance. This was happy for the nation; for it was perhaps impossible to pick out another house of commons that could be more ready to acquiesce in the views of the crown.

A. D. The parliament being dismissed, the next step 1686. was to secure a catholic interest in the privy:

council. Accordingly, four catholic lords were admitted; Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover. The king made no secret of his desires to have his courtiers converted to his own religion; and the earl of Sunderland, who saw that the only way to preferment was by popery, scrupled not to gain favour at that price. Rochester, the treasurer, was discarded, because he refused to conform. In these schemes, James was entirely governed by the counsels of the queen and of his confessor, father Edward Petre, a Jesuit, whom he soon after created a privy-counsellor. Even in Ireland, where the duke of Ormond had long supported the royal cause, this nobleman was displaced as being a protestant; and the lord Tyrconnel, a furious Roman catholic, was placed in his stead. The king, one day, in his attempts to convert his subjects, stooped so low as colonel Kirke; but this daring soldier told him that he was pre-engaged, for he had promised the king of Morocco, when he was quartered at Tangier, that, if he should ever change his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

It could not be expected that the favour shown by James to the catholics would be tamely borne by the members of the English church. They had hitherto, indeed, supported the king against his republican enemies, and to their assistance he chiefly owed his crown; but, finding his partiality to the catholics, the clergy of the church of England began to take the alarm, and commenced an opposition to court measures. The pulpits now thundered against popery; and it was urged that it was more formidable from the support granted to it by the king. It was in vain that James attempted to impose silence on these topics: instead of avoiding the controversy, the protestant preachers pursued it with still greater warmth.

Among those who distinguished themselves on this

occasion, was one doctor Sharp, a clergyman of London, who declaimed with just severity against those who had been induced to change their religion by such arguments as the popish missionaries were able to produce. This being supposed to reflect upon the king, gave great offence at court; and positive orders were given to the bishop of London to suspend Sharp till his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The bishop refused to comply; and the king resolved to punish the bishop himself for disobedience.

To effect his designs, he determined to revive the high-commission court, which had given the nation so much disgust in the times of his father, and which had been for ever abolished by act of parliament. But the laws were no obstacles to James, when they combated his inclination. An ecclesiastical commission was issued out anew, by which seven commissioners were invested with a full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. This was a blow to the church which alarmed the kingdom; and, could the authority of this court take place, the king's intentions of converting the nation would naturally follow. Before this tribunal, the bishop was summoned; and not only he, but Sharp the preacher, were suspended.

The next step was to allow a liberty of conscience to all sectaries; and he was taught to believe that the truth of the catholic religion would then, upon a fair trial, gain the victory. In such a case, the same power that granted liberty of conscience might restrain it, and the catholic religion alone be then permitted to predominate. He therefore issued a declaration of general indulgence, and asserted that nonconformity to the established religion was no longer penal. In order to procure a favourable reception to this edict, he began by paying court to the dissenters, as if it had been principally in-

tended for their benefit. But those sectaries were too cunning and suspicious to be so deceived. They knew that the king only meant to establish his own religion at the expense of theirs; and that both his own temper, and the genius of popery, had nothing of the true spirit of toleration in them. They dissembled, however, their distrust for a while; and the king went on silently applauding himself on the success of his schemes.

But his measures were caution itself in England, compared with those which were carried on in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, he ordered his parliament to grant a toleration to the catholics only, without ever attempting to intercede for the dissenters, who were much more numerous. In Ireland, the protestants were totally expelled from all offices of trust and profit, and the catholics were put in their places. Tyrconnel, who was vested with full authority there, carried over, as chancellor, one Fitton, a man who had been taken from a prison, and who had been convicted of forgery and other crimes. This man, a zealous catholic, was heard to say, from the bench, that all protestants were rogues, and that, among forty thousand, there was not one who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain.

These severe measures had sufficiently disgusted every part of the British empire; but to complete his work, for James did nothing by halves, he publicly sent the earl of Castlemain ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. Never was so much contempt thrown upon an embassy, that was so boldly undertaken. The court of Rome expected little success from measures so blindly conducted. They were sensible that the king was openly striking at those laws and opinions which it was his business to undermine in silence and security. The

cardinals were even heard facetiously to declare, that the king should be excommunicated, for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that yet subsisted in England. The only proof of complaisance which the king received from his holiness, was his sending a nuncio into England, in return for the embassy that was sent to him.

This failed not to add to the general discontent; and the people supposed that he could never be so rash, as, contrary to an express act of parliament, to admit of a communication with the pope. But what was their

A. D. surprise, when they saw the nuncio make his 1687. public and solemn entry into Windsor: and, because the duke of Somerset refused to attend the ceremony, he was dismissed from his employment of one of the lords of the bed-chamber!

But this was merely the beginning of the king's attempts. The Jesuits soon after were permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom; they exercised the catholic worship in the most public manner, and four catholic bishops, consecrated in the chapel-royal, were sent through the kingdom to exercise their episcopal functions, under the title of apostolic vicars. Their pastoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and distributed through all parts of the kingdom. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their orders; and a great number of priests and friars arrived in England, Every great office the crown had to bestow was gradually transferred from the protestants; Rochester and Clarendon, the king's brothers-in-law, though they had been ever faithful to his interests, were, because protestants, dismissed from their employments. Nothing now remained but to open the doors of the church and universities to the intrusion of the catholics; and this effort was soon after begun.

Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the king to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. But his religion was a stumbling-block which the university could not get over; and they presented a petition, beseeching the king to recall his mandate. Their petition was disregarded; and the vice-chancellor, being summoned to appear before the high-commission court, was deprived of his office; yet the university persisted, and father Francis was refused. The king, thus foiled, thought proper at that time to drop his pretensions; but he carried on his attempts upon the university of Oxford with still greater vigour.

The place of president of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, being vacant, the king sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, and a man of a bad character in other respects. The fellows of the college made very submissive applications to the king for recalling his mandate; but, before they received an answer, the day came on which, by their statutes, they were required to proceed to an election. They therefore chose doctor Hough, a man of learning, integrity, and resolution. The king was incensed at their presumption; and, in order to punish them, some ecclesiastical commissioners were sent down, who, finding Farmer a man of scandalous character, issued a mandate for an election. The person now recommended by the king was doctor Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of prostitute character, but who atoned for all his vices by his willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The fellows refused to comply with this injunction; which so incensed the king, that he repaired to Oxford, and ordered the fellows to be brought before him. He reproached them with their insolence and disobedience in the most imperious terms, and commanded

them to choose Parker without delay. Another refusal on their side served still more to exasperate him: and, finding them resolute in the defence of their privileges, he ejected them all, except two, from their benefices; and Parker was put in possession of the place. Upon this the college was filled with catholics; and Charnock, who was one of the two that remained, was made vice-president.

Every invasion of the ecclesiastical and civil privileges of the nation only seemed to increase the king's ardour for greater violations of right. A second declaration A. D. for liberty of conscience was published, almost 1688. in the same terms with the former; but with this peculiar injunction, that all divines should read it after service in their churches. As he thus put it in the power of thousands to refuse, he armed against himself the whole body of the nation. The clergy were known universally to disapprove the suspending power; and they were now resolved to disobey an order dictated by the most bigoted motives. They were determined to trust their cause to the favour of the people, and to that universal jealousy which prevailed against the encroachments of the crown. The first champions on this service of danger were Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol. These, together with Sancroft the primate, concerted an address, in the form of a petition to the king, which, with the warmest expressions of zeal and submission, remonstrated that they could not read his declaration consistently with their consciences, or the respect they owed the protestant religion. This modest address only inflamed the king's resentment; and he blindly rushed into measures as precipitate as they were tyrannical. He was resolved not to let the slight-

est and most respectful contradiction pass unpunished. He received the petition with marks of surprise and displeasure. He said to the bishops, that he did not expect such an address from the English church, particularly from some among them, and insisted on full obedience to his mandate. The bishops left his presence under some apprehensions from his fury, but secure in the favour of the people, and the rectitude of their intentions.

The king's measures were now become so odious to the people, that, although the bishops of Durham and Rochester, who were members of the ecclesiastical court, ordered the declaration to be read in the churches of their respective districts, the audience could not hear them with any patience. One minister told his congregation, that though he had positive orders to read the declaration, they had none to hear it, and therefore they might leave the church; a hint which was quickly adopted. It may easily be supposed that the petitioning bishops had little to dread from the utmost efforts of royal resentment.

As the petition was delivered in private, the king summoned the bishops before the council, and there questioned them whether they would acknowledge it? They for some time declined giving an answer; but, being urged by the chancellor, they at last owned the petition. On their refusing to give bail, an order was immediately drawn up for their commitment to the Tower, and the crown lawyers received directions to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

The king gave orders that they should be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion in their favour. The people were no sooner informed of their danger, than they ran to the river-side, which was lined with incredible multitudes. As the

reverend prisoners passed, the populace fell upon their knees ; and some even ran into the water, craving their blessing, calling upon Heaven to protect them, and encouraging them to suffer nobly in the cause of religion. The bishops were not wanting, by their submissive and humble behaviour, to raise the pity of the spectators ; and they still exhorted them to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. The very soldiers by whom they were guarded kneeled down before them, and implored their forgiveness. Upon landing, the bishops immediately went to the Tower chapel to render thanks for those afflictions which they suffered in the cause of truth.

The twenty-ninth day of June was fixed for their trial ; and their return was still more splendidly attended than their imprisonment. Twenty-nine peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immense crowd of people waited upon them to Westminster-hall. The cause was looked upon as involving the fate of the nation ; and future freedom, or future slavery, awaited the decision. The dispute was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both sides. Holloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared themselves in favour of the bishops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the night. The next morning, they returned into court, and pronounced the bishops " not guilty." Westminster hall instantly rang with loud acclamations, which were communicated to the whole extent of the city. They even reached the camp at Hounslow, where the king was at dinner in lord Feversham's tent. His majesty demanding the cause of these rejoicings, and being informed that it was nothing but the soldiers shouting at the delivery of the bishops ; " Call you that nothing ? " cried he ; " but so much the worse for them."

If the bishops testified the readiness of martyrs in

support of their religion, James showed no less ardour in his attempts toward the establishment of his own. Grown odious to every class of his subjects, he still resolved to persist; for it was a part of his character, that those measures he once embraced he always persevered in pursuing. He dismissed the judges Powel and Holloway, who had favoured the bishops. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration; and all had refused it, except two hundred. He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura.

As he found the clergy every where averse to the harshness of his proceedings, he was willing to try next what he could do with the army. He thought, if one regiment should promise implicit obedience, their example would soon induce others to comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against his late declaration of liberty of conscience should lay down their arms. He was surprised to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers, and a few Roman-catholic soldiers.

Opposition only served to inflame the zeal of this infatuated monarch. He was continually stimulated by the queen, and the priests about him, to go forward without receding. A fortunate circumstance happened in his family. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was brought to bed of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. This would, if any thing could at any time, have served to establish him on the throne; but so great was the animosity against him, that a story was propagated that the child was supposititious, and

brought to the queen's apartment in a warming-pan. Such was this monarch's pride, that he scorned to take any precautions to refute the calumny. Indeed all his measures were marked with the characters of pride, cruelty, bigotry, and weakness. In these he was chiefly supported by Father Petre, his confessor, an ambitious, ignorant, and intriguing priest, whom some scruple not to call a concealed creature belonging to the prince of Orange. By that prince's secret directions, it is asserted, though upon no very good authority, that James was hurried on, under the guidance of Petre, from one precipice to another, until he was obliged to give up the reins of that government which he went near to overthrow.

CHAPTER XVI.

JAMES II. (Continued.)

A. D. 1688—1689.

WILLIAM, prince of Orange, had married Mary, the eldest daughter of king James. This princess had been bred a protestant; and as she was presumptive heir of the crown, the people tamely bore the encroachments of the king, in hopes that his protestant successor would rectify those measures he had taken towards the establishment of popery, and the extension of the prerogative of the crown. For this reason the prince gave the king not only advice, but assistance in all emergencies, and had actually supplied him with six thousand troops upon Monmouth's invasion. But now, when a young prince was born, that entirely excluded his hopes by succession, he lent more attention to the complaints of

the nation, and began to foment those discontents which before he had endeavoured to suppress.

William was a prince who had, from his earliest entrance into business, been immersed in dangers, calamities, and politics. The ambition of France, and the jealousies of Holland, had served to sharpen his talents, and to give him a propensity to intrigue. This great politician and soldier concealed beneath a phlegmatic appearance, a most violent and boundless ambition; all his actions were leveled at power, while his discourse never betrayed the wishes of his heart. His temper was cold and severe; his genius active and piercing; he was valiant without ostentation, and politic without address. Disdaining the elegance and pleasures of life, yet eager after the phantom of pre-eminence, through his whole life he was indefatigable; and, though an unsuccessful general in the field, he was a formidable negotiator in the cabinet. By his intrigues, he saved his own country from ruin, he restored the liberties of England, and preserved the independence of Europe. Thus, though neither his abilities nor his virtues were of the highest kind, there are few persons in history whose actions and conduct have contributed more eminently to the general interests of society and mankind.

This politic prince now plainly saw that James had incurred the most violent hatred of his subjects. He was minutely informed of their discontents; and, by seeming to discourage, still farther increased them. He therefore began by giving Dyckvelt, his envoy, instructions to apply in his name to every sect and denomination in the kingdom. To the church-party he sent assurances of favour and regard; and protested that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him against episcopacy. To the non-conformists he sent exhortations not to be deceived by the insidious caresses of

their sworn enemy, but to wait for a real and sincere protector. Dyckvelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all orders of men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from those dangers with which they were threatened at home.

The prince soon found that every rank was ripe for defection, and received invitations from some of the most considerable persons in the kingdom. Admiral Herbert, and admiral Russel, assured him in person of their own and the national attachment. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, went over to him with assurances of an universal combination against the king. Lord Dumblaine, son of the earl of Danby, being master of a frigate, made several voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even considerable sums of money, to the prince of Orange. Soon after, the bishop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonshire, Dorset, and several other lords, gentlemen, and principal citizens, united in their addresses to him, and entreated his speedy descent.

The people of England, though long divided between Whig and Tory, were unanimous in their measures against the king. The Whigs hated him upon principles of liberty, the Tories upon principles of religion. The former had ever shown themselves tenacious of their political rights; the latter were equally obstinate in defence of their religious tenets. James had invaded both; so that for a time all factions were laid asleep, except the general one of driving the tyrant from the throne, which upon every account he was so ill qualified to fill. William determined to accept the invitation of the kingdom; and still more readily embarked in the cause, as he saw that the malcontents had conducted their measures with prudence and secrecy.

The time when the prince entered upon his enterprise was just when the people were in a flame from the recent insult offered to their bishops. He had before this made considerable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, and the ships were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were also levied, and sums of money raised for other purposes were converted to the advancement of this expedition. The Dutch had always reposed an entire confidence in him; and many of the neighbouring princes regarded him as their guardian and protector. He was sure of their protection of his native government, while he should be employed in England; and the troops of some of the German powers were actually marched down to Holland for that purpose. Every place was in motion; all Europe saw and expected the descent, except the unfortunate James himself, who, secure in the piety of his intentions, thought nothing could hinder his schemes, as they were calculated to promote the cause of heaven.

The king of France was the first who apprised him of his danger, and offered to assist him in repelling it. He was willing to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet, and to send over any number of troops which James should judge requisite for his security. James, however, could not be convinced that his son-in-law intended an invasion: fully satisfied himself of the sacredness of his authority, he imagined that a like belief prevailed among his subjects. He therefore rejected the French king's proposal; unwilling perhaps to call in foreign aid, when he had an army sufficient at home. When this offer was rejected, Louis again offered to march down his numerous army to the frontiers of the Dutch provinces, and thus to detain their forces at home to defend themselves. This proposal met with no better reception. Still Louis was unwilling to abandon a

friend and ally, whose interest he regarded as closely connected with his own. He ventured to remonstrate with the Dutch against the preparations they were making to invade England. They considered his remonstrance as an officious impertinence, and James himself declined his mediation.

James, having thus rejected the assistance of his friends, and being left to face the danger alone, was astonished with an advice from his minister in Holland, that an invasion was not only projected but avowed. When he first read the letter containing this information, he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand. He saw the gulf into which he had fallen, and knew not where to seek for protection. His only resource was in retreating from those various precipitate measures into which he had plunged himself. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for their common security. He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and penal laws. He restored the charters of different corporations; annulled the high-commission court; reinstated the president and fellows of Magdalen college; and was even reduced to caress those bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted.

But all his concessions were now too late. They were regarded as the symptoms of fear, not of repentance; as the cowardice of guilt, not the conviction of error. Indeed, he soon showed the people the uncertainty of his reformation; for, hearing that the Dutch fleet was dispersed, he recalled those concessions which he had made in favour of Magdalen college; and to show his attachment to the Romish church, at the baptism of his new-born son, he named the pope as one of the sponsors.

In the mean time the declaration of the prince of Orange was industriously dispersed over the kingdom. In this he enumerated all the grievances of which the nation complained; promised his assistance in redressing them; and assured the people that his only aim was to procure the lasting settlement of their liberty and their religion, in a full and free parliament. This declaration was quickly followed by preparations for a vigorous invasion. So well concerted were William's measures, that in three days above four hundred transports were hired; the army fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen, with all necessary stores; and the prince set sail from Helvoetsluys with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men.

Fortune seemed at first every way unfavourable to his enterprise. He encountered a dreadful storm, which put him back; but he soon refitted his fleet, and once more ventured to England. It was given out that this invasion was intended for the coast of France; and many of the English who saw the fleet pass along their coast, little expected to see it land on their own shores. It happened that the same wind which sent them to their destined port, detained the English fleet in the river; so that the Dutch passed the straits of Dover without molestation. Thus, after a voyage of two days, the prince landed his army at the village of Broxholme in Torbay, on the 5th of November, which was the anniversary of the gunpowder treason.

Although the invitation from the English was very general, the prince for some time had the mortification to find himself joined by very few. He marched first to Exeter; but the inhabitants of the western counties had been so lately terrified with the executions which had ensued on Monmouth's rebellion, that they continued

to observe a strict neutrality. Slight repulses, however, were not able to intimidate a general who had, from his early youth, been taught to encounter adversity. He continued for ten days in expectation of being joined by the malcontents, and at last began to despair of success; but just when he began to deliberate about reembarking his forces, he was joined by several persons of consequence, and the whole country soon after came flocking to his standard. The first person who joined the prince was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russel (son to the earl of Bedford), Wharton, Godfrey, Howe, came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delaware took up arms in Cheshire; the earl of Danby seized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby; the nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that general combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection of the army, which seemed almost universally tainted with the spirit of the times. Lord Colchester, son of earl Rivers, was the first officer who deserted to the prince. Lord Lovelace was taken in the like attempt by the militia, under the duke of Beaufort. Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, carried off a considerable part of three regiments of cavalry to the prince. Several officers of distinction informed Feversham, in general, that they could not in conscience fight against the prince of Orange.

The defection of the officers was followed by that of

the king's own servants and creatures. Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, and had been invested with a high command in the army; had been created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty; even he deserted among the rest, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some others.

In this alarming defection, the unfortunate James, not knowing where to turn and on whom to rely, began to think of requesting assistance from France, when it was now too late. He wrote to Leopold, emperor of Germany, but in vain. That monarch only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. James imagined that he might have some dependence on his fleet; but the officers and seamen in general were disaffected. In a word, his interests were deserted by all; for he had long deserted them himself.

He had by this time arrived at Salisbury, the headquarters of his army; and he found that this body amounted to twenty thousand men. It is possible that, had he led these to the combat, without granting them time for deliberation, they might have fought in his favour, and secured him on the throne. But he was involved in a maze of fears and suspicions; the defection of those he most confided in took away his confidence in all, and deprived him even of the power of deliberation. It was no small addition to his present distress, that the prince of Denmark, and Anne, his favourite daughter, perceiving the desperation of his circumstances, resolved to leave him, and take part with the prevailing side. When he was told that the prince and princess had followed the rest of his favourites, he was stung with the most bitter anguish. "God help me!" cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!"

During this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London; a measure which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery. Thus driven to the precipice of his fortunes, invaded by one son-in-law, abandoned by another, despised by his subjects, and hated by those who had suffered beneath his cruelty, he assembled the few noblemen that still adhered to his interests. There, in his forlorn council, he demanded the advice of those he most confided in. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Russel, who had been executed in the former reign by the intrigues of James, "My lord," said the king, "you are an honest man, have credit, and can do me signal service." "Ah, sir!" replied the earl, "I am old and feeble; I can do you but little service. I had indeed a son!" James was so struck with this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes.

The king's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was such as could not procure him the esteem of his friends and adherents. He was naturally timid: and some counsellors about him, either sharing his fears, or secretly attached to the prince, contributed to increase his apprehensions. They reminded him of the fate of his father, and aggravated the turbulence and inconstancy of the people. They at length persuaded him to fly from a nation he could no longer govern, and seek for refuge at the court of France, where he was sure of assistance and protection. The popish courtiers, and above all the priests, were sensible that they would be made the first sacrifice upon the prevalence of the opposite party. They were therefore desirous of taking James with them, as his presence would be still their honour and protection abroad.

The prince of Orange was no less desirous of the

king's flying over to France than his most zealous counsellors could be. He was determined to use every expedient to intimidate James, and drive him out of the kingdom. He declined a personal conference with the king's commissioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them. The terms which he proposed implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty; and, to urge his measures, he stopped not a moment in his march towards London.

The king, alarmed every day more and more with the prospect of a general disaffection, resolved to hearken to those who advised him to quit the kingdom. To prepare for this he first sent away the queen, who arrived safely at Calais, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French king. He himself soon after disappeared in the night-time, attended only by sir Edward Hales, a new convert; and, disguising himself in a plain dress, went down to Feversham, where he embarked in a small vessel for France. But his misfortunes still continued to pursue him. The vessel was detained by the populace, who, not knowing the person of the king, robbed, insulted, and abused him. He was now persuaded by the earl of Winchelsea to return to London; where the mob, moved by his distresses, and guided by their natural levity, received him, contrary to his expectations, with shouts and acclamations.

Nothing could be more disagreeable to the prince of Orange than to hear that James was brought back, and, in some measure, triumphantly, to his capital. He had before taken measures to seize upon that authority which the king's dereliction had put into his hands. The bishops and peers, who were now the only authorised magistrates in the state, gave directions, in the present dissolution of government, for keeping the peace of the

city. They issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the garrisons, and the army. They made applications to the prince, whose enterprise they highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated. It was not, therefore, without extreme mortification, that he found the king returned to embarrass his proceedings.

The prince of Orange, however, determined to dissemble, and received the news of his return with a haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to push him by threats and severities to relinquish the throne; and his proceedings argued the refined politician. The king having sent lord Feversham on a civil message to the prince, desiring a conference previous to the settlement of the throne, that nobleman was put under an arrest, on pretence of his wanting a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where the king then lodged, and to displace the English. James was soon after commanded by a message, which he received in bed at midnight, to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale. He desired permission to retire to Rochester, a town not far from the sea-coast. This was readily granted him; and it was now perceived that the harsh measures of the prince had taken effect, and that James was meditating an escape from the kingdom.

The king, while he continued at Rochester, seemed willing to receive invitations to resume the crown; but the prince had not been at all this expence and trouble in taking him from a throne to place him there again. James, therefore, observing that he was entirely neglected by his own subjects, and oppressed by his son-in-law, resolved to seek safety from the king of France, the only friend he had still remaining. He accordingly fled

to the sea-side, attended by his natural son, the duke of Berwick, and embarked for the continent. He arrived in safety at Ambleteuse in Picardy, whence he hastened to the court of France, where he still enjoyed the empty title of a king, and the appellation of a saint, which flattered him more.

After this manner, the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, seconded by surprising fortune, effected the delivery of the kingdom. It now remained that he should reap the rewards of his toil, and obtain that crown for himself, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. Previously to any regular authority, he continued in the management of all public affairs. By the advice of the house of lords, the only member of the legislature remaining, he was desired to summon a parliament by circular letters; but the prince, unwilling to act upon so imperfect an authority, convened all the members who had sitten in the house of commons during any parliament of Charles the Second, and to these were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council. This was the most proper representative of the people that could be summoned, during the present emergency. They unanimously voted the same address with the lords; and the prince, being thus supported by legal authority, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, to choose a new parliament. His orders were universally complied with; every thing went on in the most regular peaceful manner, and the prince became possessed of all authority, as if he had regularly succeeded to the throne.

When the house met, which was mostly Jan. 22, composed of the Whig party, after thanks 1689. . . were given to the prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had brought them, they proceeded to the settlement of the kingdom. In a few days they passed a

which, previous to his coronation, William was obliged to confirm.

This declaration of rights maintained that the suspending and dispensing powers, as exercised by king James, were unconstitutional; that all courts of ecclesiastical commission, the levying money, or maintaining a standing army in times of peace, without consent of parliament, grants of fines and forfeitures before conviction, and juries of persons not qualified or not fairly chosen, or (in trials for treason) who were not freeholders, were unlawful. It asserted the freedom of election to parliament, the freedom of speech in parliament, and the right of the subject to bear arms, and to petition his sovereign. It provided, that excessive bails should not be required, nor excessive fines be imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments be inflicted; and it concluded with an injunction that parliaments should be frequently assembled. Such was the bill of rights, calculated to secure the liberties of the people; but, having been drawn up in a ferment, it bears all the marks of haste, insufficiency, and inattention.

William was no sooner elected to the throne, than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors than to obey them. From the peaceful and tractable disposition of his own countrymen, he expected a similar disposition among the English; he hoped to find them ready and willing to second his ambition in humbling France, but he found them more apt to fear for the invasion of their domestic liberties.

His reign commenced with an attempt similar to that which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances in the preceding reign, and which had excluded the monarch from the throne. William was a Calvin-

ist, and consequently averse to persecution; he therefore began by attempting to repeal those laws that enjoined uniformity of worship; and, though he could not entirely succeed in his design, a toleration was granted to such dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles. The papists themselves, who had every thing to fear, experienced the lenity of his government; and, though the laws against them were unrepealed, yet they were seldom put into rigorous execution. Thus, what was criminal in James became virtuous in his successor, as James wanted to introduce persecution by pretending to disown it, while William had no other view than to make religious freedom the test of civil security.

Though William was acknowledged king in England, Scotland and Ireland were still undetermined. The revolution in England had been brought about by a coalition of Whigs and Tories; but in Scotland it was effected by the Whigs almost alone. They soon came to a resolution, that king James had, to use their own expression, *forfaulted* his right to the crown, a term which, in the law-language of that country, excluded not only him, but all his posterity. They therefore quickly recognised the authority of William, and took that opportunity to abolish episcopacy, which had long been disagreeable to the nation.

Nothing now remained to the deposed king, of all his former possessions, but Ireland; and he had some hopes of maintaining his ground there, by the assistance which was promised to him from France. Louis XIV. had long been at variance with William, and took every opportunity to form confederacies against him, and to obstruct his government. On the present occasion, being either touched with compassion at the sufferings of James, or willing to weaken a rival king-

dom, by promoting its internal dissensions, he granted the deposed monarch a fleet and some troops, to assert his pretensions in Ireland, the only part of his dominions that had not openly declared against him.

On the other hand, William was not backward in warding off the threatened blow. He was pleased with an opportunity of gratifying his natural hatred against France; and he hoped to purchase domestic quiet to himself, by turning the spirit of the nation upon the continual object of its aversion and jealousy. The parliament, though divided in all things else, was unanimous in conspiring with him in this; a war was declared against France, and measures were pursued for driving James from Ireland were he had landed, assisted rather by money than by forces granted him from the French king.

That unhappy prince, having embarked at Brest, arrived at Kinsale in March, and soon after made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He found the appearances of things in that country equal to his most sanguine expectations. Tyrconnel, the lord-lieutenant, was devoted to his interests; his whole army was steady, and a new one raised, amounting together to near forty thousand men. The protestants over the greatest part of Ireland were disarmed; the province of Ulster alone denied his authority; while the papists, confident of success, received him with shouts of joy, and with superstitious processions, which gave him still greater pleasure.

In this situation, the protestants of Ireland underwent the most oppressive and cruel indignities. Most of those who were attached to the revolution were obliged to retire into Scotland and England, or hid themselves, or accepted written protections from their enemies. The bravest of them, however, to the number of ten

thousand men, gathered round Londonderry, resolved to make their last stand at that place for their religion and liberty. A few also rallied themselves at Enniskillen, and, after the first panic was over, became more numerous by the junction of others.

James continued for some time irresolute what course to pursue; but, as soon as the spring would permit, he went to lay siege to Londonderry, a town of small importance in itself, but rendered famous by the stand which it made on this occasion. Colonel Lundie had been appointed governor of the town by William, but was secretly attached to king James; and, at a council of war, prevailed upon the officers and townsmen to send messengers to the besiegers with an offer of surrender the day following. But the inhabitants, being apprised of his intention, and crying out that they were betrayed, rose in a fury against the governor and council, shot one of the officers whom they suspected, and boldly resolved to maintain the town, though destitute of leaders.

The town was weak in its fortifications, having only a wall eight or nine feet thick, and weaker still in its artillery, there being not above twenty serviceable guns upon the works. The new-made garrison, however, made up every deficiency by courage; one Walker, a dissenting minister, and major Baker, put themselves at the head of these resolute men; and, thus abandoned to their fate, they prepared for a vigorous resistance. The batteries of the besiegers soon began to play upon the town with great fury; and several attacks were made, but always repulsed with resolution. All the success that valour could promise, was on the side of the besieged; but they, after some time, found themselves exhausted by continual fatigue: they were afflicted also with a contagious distemper, which thinned their num-

bers; and as there were many useless mouths in the city, they began to be reduced to extremities for want of provision. They had even the mortification to see some ships, which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by a boom and by the batteries of the enemy. General Kirke attempted in vain to come to their assistance. All he could do was to promise them speedy relief, and to exhort them to bear their miseries a little longer, with assurances of a glorious termination of them all. They had now consumed the last remains of their provision, and supported life by eating horses, dogs, and all kinds of vermin, while even this loathsome food began to fail them. They had still farther the misery of seeing above four thousand of their fellow-protestants, from different parts of the country, driven by Rosen, James's general, under the walls of the town, where they were kept three whole days without provisions. Kirke, in the mean time, who had been sent to their relief, continued inactive, debating with himself between the prudence and necessity of his assistance. At last, receiving intelligence that the garrison, sunk with fatigue and famine, had sent proposals of capitulation, he resolved upon an attempt to throw provisions into the place, by means of three victuallers, and a frigate to cover them. As soon as these vessels sailed up the river, the eyes of all were fixed upon them; the besiegers eager to destroy, and the garrison as resolute for their defence. The foremost of the victuallers at the first shock broke the boom, but was stranded by the violence of her own shock. Upon this a shout burst from the besiegers, which reached the camp and the city. They advanced with fury against a prize which they considered as inevitable; while the smoke of cannon on both sides wrapped the whole scene in darkness. But, to the astonish-

ment of all, in a little time the victualler was seen emerging from imminent danger, having gotten off by the rebound of her own guns, while she led up her little squadron to the very walls of the town. The joy of the inhabitants, at this unexpected relief, was only equalled by the rage and disappointment of the besiegers, who were so dispirited by the success of this enterprise, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost above nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town than Walker was prevailed on to embark for England, with an address of thanks to king William, for the seasonable relief they had received.

The Enniskilleners were no less remarkable than the former for the valour and perseverance with which they espoused the interests of William. And indeed the bigotry and cruelty of the papists upon that occasion were sufficient to rouse the tamest into opposition. The protestants, by an act of the popish parliament under king James, were divested of those lands which they had possessed since the Irish rebellion. Two thousand five hundred persons of that persuasion, who had sought safety by flight, were found guilty of treason, and attainted. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter; the people were plundered; the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of the citizens were pilaged, to supply a quantity of brass, which was converted into coin, and passed, by royal mandate, for above forty times its real value. Not content with this, James imposed, by his own authority, a tax of twenty thousand pounds a month on personal property, and levied it by a commission under the great seal. All vacancies in public schools were supplied by popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to

the university of Dublin was cut off, and that institution converted into a popish seminary. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; many perished with hunger, still more by being forced from their homes during the severest inclemencies of the season.

But their sufferings were soon to have an end. William at length perceived that his neglect of Ireland had been an error that required more than usual diligence to redress. He was afraid to send the late king's army to fight against him, and therefore ordered twenty-three new regiments to be raised for that purpose. These, with two Dutch battalions, and four of French refugees, together with the Enniskilleners, were appointed for the reduction of Ireland; and, next to king William himself, Schomberg was appointed to command.

Schomberg was an officer of German extraction, who had long been the faithful servant of William, and had now passed a life of eighty years almost continually in the field. The method of carrying on the war in Ireland, however, was a mode of operation with which he was entirely unacquainted. The forces he had to combat were incursive, barbarous, and shy; those he had to command were tumultuary, ungovernable, and brave. He considered not the dangers which threatened the health of his troops by being confined to one place; and he kept them in a low moist camp, near Dundalk, almost without firing of any kind; so that the men fell into fevers and fluxes, and died in great abundance. The enemy was not less afflicted with similar disorders. Both armies remained for some time in sight of each other; and at last, the rainy season approaching, both, if by mutual agreement, quitted their camps at

the same time, and retired into winter quarters, without attempting to take the advantage of each other's retreat.

The bad success of the campaign and the A. D. miserable situation of the protestants in Ireland, 1690. at length induced king William to attempt their relief in person, at the opening of the ensuing spring; and he accordingly landed at Carrickfergus, where he found himself at the head of an army of six and thirty thousand effective men, which was more than a match for the forces of James, although they amounted to above ten thousand more.

William having received news that the French fleet had sailed for the coast of England, resolved, by measures of speed and vigour, to prevent the impression which that circumstance might make upon the minds of his soldiers; and therefore hastened to advance against James, who, he heard, had quitted Dublin, and had stationed his army at Ardee and Dundalk.

All the measures taken by William were dictated by prudence and valour; those pursued by his opponents seemed dictated by obstinacy and infatuation. They neglected to harass him in his difficult march from the north; they neglected to oppose him at the strong pass at Newry; as he advanced they fell back first from Dundalk, and then from Ardee; and at last they fixed their camp in a strong station, on the other side of the Boyne. It was upon the opposite banks of this river that both armies came in sight of each other, inflamed with all the animosities arising from religion, hatred, and revenge. The river Boyne at this place was not so deep but that men might wade over on foot; however, the banks were rugged, and rendered dangerous by old houses and ditches, which served to defend the latent enemy. William had no sooner arrived, than he rode

along the bank of the river, in sight of both armies, to make proper observations upon the plan of battle; but in the mean time, being perceived by the enemy, a cannon was privately brought out and planted against him, where he was sitting. The shot killed several of his followers; and he himself was wounded in the shoulder. A report of his being slain was instantly propagated through the Irish camp, and even reached Paris; but William, as soon as his wound was dressed, rode through the camp, and quickly undeceived his army.

Upon retiring to his tent, after the danger of the day, he continued in meditation till nine o'clock in the evening, when, for the sake of form, he summoned a council of war, in which, without asking advice, he declared his resolution to force a passage over the river the next morning. The duke of Schomberg attempted at first to expostulate with him upon the danger of the undertaking; but, finding his master inflexible, he retired to his tent with a discontented aspect, as if he had a pre-science of his own misfortune.

July 1, Early in the morning, at six o'clock, king 1690. William gave orders to force a passage over the river. This the army undertook in three different places; and, after a furious cannonading, the battle began with unusual vigour. The Irish troops, though reckoned equal to any in Europe abroad, have always fought indifferently at home. After an obstinate resistance, they fled with precipitation, leaving the French the Swiss regiments who came to their assistance, to make the best retreat they could. William led on his horse in person, and contributed, by his activity and vigilance to secure the victory. James was not in the battle, but stood aloof, during the action, on the hill of Donore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and, at intervals, was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own

troops repulsing those of the enemy, "O spare my English subjects!"

The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men, and the protestants about one third of that number. The victory was splendid and almost decisive; but the death of the duke of Schomberg, who was shot as he was crossing the water, seemed to outweigh the whole loss sustained by the enemy. This old soldier of fortune had fought under almost every power in Europe. His skill in war was unparalleled, and his fidelity equal to his courage. The number of battles in which he had been personally engaged, was said to equal the number of his years, and he died at the age of eighty-two. He was killed by a discharge from his own troops, who, not knowing that he had been accidentally hurried into the midst of the enemy, fired upon the body of men by whom he was surrounded, and mortally wounded him.

James, while his troops were yet fighting, quitted his station; and leaving orders to defend the pass at Duleek, he made the best of his way to Dublin, despairing of future success. O'Regan, an old Irish captain, was heard to say upon this occasion, that, if the English would exchange generals, the conquered army would fight the battle with them over again.

This blow totally depressed the hopes of James. He fled to Dublin, advised the magistrates to obtain the best terms they could from the victor, and then set out for Waterford, where he embarked for France, in a vessel fitted for his reception. Had he possessed either conduct or courage, he might still have headed his troops, and fought with advantage; but prudence forsook him with good fortune, and he returned to retrieve his affairs abroad, while he deserted them in the only place where they were defensible.

His friends, however, were determined to second

A. D. those interests which he himself had abandoned. 1691. Limerick, a strong city in the province of Munster, still held out for the late king, and braved all the attempts of William's army to reduce it. Sarsfield, a popular and experienced general, put himself at the head of the army that had been routed at the Boyne, and went farther into the country to defend the banks of the river Shannon, where he resolved to await the enemy. James, who would not defend the country himself, determined that none but such as were agreeable to him should defend it. He therefore appointed St. Ruth, a French general, who had signalised himself against the protestants in France, to command over Sarsfield, which gave the Irish universal discontent, as it showed that the king could neither rely on their skill nor their fidelity. On the other hand, general Ginckel, who had been appointed to command the English army in the absence of William, who was gone over to England, advanced with his forces towards the Shannon, in order to pass that broad and dangerous river. The only place where it was fordable, was at Athlone, a strong walled town, built on both sides of the river, and defending that important pass. The part of the town on the hither side of the river was taken sword in hand by the English; but the part on the opposite bank, being defended with great vigour, for a while was thought impregnable. At length it was resolved, in a council of war, that a body of forlorn hope should ford the stream in the face of the enemy, which desperate attempt was performed with great resolution; the enemy were driven from their works, and the town surrendered at discretion. St. Ruth marched his army to give relief, but too late; for, when he approached the walls, his own guns were turned against him. He no sooner saw this than his fears increased in proportion to his former confidence; and,

dreading the impetuosity of a victorious enemy in his very camp, he marched off instantly, and took post at Aghrim, ten miles off. There he determined to await the English army, and decide the fate of Ireland at one blow.

Ginckel, having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle, though his force did not exceed eighteen thousand men, while that of the enemy was above twenty-five thousand. The Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation, being drawn out upon a rising ground, before which lay a bog that, to appearance, was passable only in two places. Their right was fortified by entrenchments, and their left secured by the castle of Aghrim. Ginckel, having observed their situation, gave the necessary orders for the attack; and, after a furious cannonading, the English army at twelve o'clock began to force the two passages of the bog, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but at length the troops on the right, by the help of some field-pieces, carried their point. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English army was advanced to the right of the Irish, and at length obliged it to give ground. In the mean time, a more general attack was made upon the centre; the English wading through the middle of the bog up to the waist in mud, and rallying with some difficulty upon the firm ground on the other side, renewed the combat with great fury. At length St. Ruth being killed by a cannon-ball, his fate so dispirited his troops, that they gave way on all sides, and retreated to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, after having lost above five thousand of the flower of their army. Limerick, the last retreat of the Irish forces, made a brave

defence; but soon seeing the enemy advanced within ten paces of the bridge-foot, and perceiving themselves surrounded, they determined to capitulate; a negotiation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides. The catholics, by this capitulation, were restored to the enjoyment of those liberties, in the exercise of their religion, which they had possessed in the reign of king Charles the Second. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. In consequence of this, about fourteen thousand of those who had fought for king James went over into France, having transports provided by government for conveying them thither. When they arrived in France, they were thanked for their loyalty by James, who told them that they should still fight for their old master, and that he had obtained an order from the king of France for their being new-clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

In this manner all the expectations which might arise from the attachment of the Irish were entirely at an end: that kingdom submitted peaceably to the English government, and James was to look for other assistance to prop his declining pretensions. His chief hopes lay in a conspiracy among his English adherents, and in the succours which were promised to him by the French king. The success of the conspiracy was the first to disappoint his expectations. This was originally hatched in Scotland by sir James Montgomery, a person, who, from being an adherent to William, now turned against him; but, as the project was ill conceived, so it was lightly discovered by the instigator. To this another succeeded, which seemed to threaten more serious consequences, as it was chiefly managed by the Whig party, who were the most formidable in the state. A number

of these joined themselves to the Tory party, and both made advances to the adherents of the late king. They assembled together; and the result of their deliberations was, that the restoration of James was to be entirely effected by foreign forces; that he should sail for Scotland, and be there joined by five thousand Swedes, who, because they were of the protestant religion, it was thought would remove a part of the odium which attended an invasion by foreigners; that assistance should at the same time be sent from France, and that full liberty of conscience should be proclaimed throughout the kingdom. In order to lose no time, it was resolved to send over two trusty persons to France to consult with the banished monarch; and lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were the persons appointed for this dangerous embassy. Accordingly, Ashton hired a small vessel for this purpose; and the two conspirators went secretly on board, happy in the supposed secrecy of their schemes; but there had been previous information given of their intentions; and lord Carmarthen had them both seized, just at the time they thought themselves out of all danger. The conspirators refused to inform; their trials were therefore hurried on about a fortnight after they were taken, in order, by the terrors of death, to force a discovery. They were both condemned; Ashton was executed, without making any confession; lord Preston had not the same resolution. Upon an offer of pardon, he discovered a great number of associates, among whom the duke of Ormond, lord Dartmouth, and lord Clarendon, were foremost.

The reduction of Ireland, and the wretched success of the late conspiracy, made the French at last sensible of their impolitic parsimony in losing a kingdom, whose divisions would no longer be of use to them. They were willing, therefore, to concur with the fugitive king,

and resolved to make a descent upon England in his favour. In pursuance of this scheme, the French king supplied James with an army consisting of a body of French troops, some English and Scotch refugees, and the Irish regiments which had been transported from A. D. Limerick into France, now become excellent 1692. soldiers by long discipline and severe duty. This army was assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue, and was commanded by king James in person. More than three hundred transports were provided for landing it on the opposite coast; and Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favour the descent. His orders were, at all events, to attack the enemy, in case they should oppose him; so that every thing promised the banished king a change of fortune.

These preparations on the side of France were soon known at the English court, and every precaution taken for a vigorous opposition. All the secret machinations of the banished king's adherents were discovered to the English ministry by spies; and by these they found, with some mortification, that the Tories were more faithful than even the Whigs, who had placed king William on the throne. The duke of Marlborough, lord Godolphin, and even the princess Anne herself, were violently suspected of disaffection; the fleet, the army, and the church, were seen mistaking their desire of novelty for a return of duty to their banished sovereign. However, preparations were made to resist the growing storm with great tranquillity and resolution. Admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and he soon appeared with ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships; an immense force, and what Europe had seldom seen before that time. At the head of this formidable squadron he set

sail for the coast of France, and at last, near La Hogue, discovered the enemy under admiral Tourville, who prepared to give him battle. Accordingly the engagement began between the two admirals with great fury; the rest of the fleet on each side followed the example. This memorable engagement lasted for ten hours, and all James's hopes depended on the event. Victory at last declaring on the side of numbers, the French fled for Conquet Road. The pursuit continued for two days following; three French ships of the line were destroyed, and eighteen more burned by sir George Rooke, which had taken refuge in the bay of La Hogue. In this manner all the preparations on the side of France were frustrated; and so decisive was the blow, that from that time France seemed to relinquish all claims to the ocean.

James was now reduced to the lowest ebb of despondence; his designs upon England were quite frustrated, so that nothing was left to his friends, but the hope of assassinating the monarch on the throne. These base attempts, as barbarous as they were useless, were not entirely disagreeable to the temper of James. It is said he encouraged and proposed them; but they all proved unserviceable to his cause, and only ended in the destruction of the undertakers. From that time till he died, which was above nine years, he continued to reside at St. Germain's, a pensioner on the bounties of Louis, and assisted by occasional liberalities from his daughter and friends in England. He died on the fifth day of September, in the year 1701, after having laboured under a tedious sickness; and many miracles, as the people thought, were wrought at his tomb. Indeed the latter part of his life was calculated to inspire the superstitious with reverence for his piety. He subjected himself to acts of uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe,

who were edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seemed to have vanished with his greatness; he became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents; and, in his last illness, conjured his son to prefer religion to every worldly advantage—a counsel which that prince strictly obeyed. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

The defeat at La Hogue confirmed king William's safety, and secured his title to the crown. The Jacobites were ever feeble, but they were now a disunited faction; new parties arose among those who had been friends to the revolution; and the want of a common enemy produced dissensions among themselves. William now began to find as much opposition and uneasiness from his parliament at home as from the enemy in the field. His chief motive for accepting the crown was, to engage England more deeply in the concerns of Europe. It had ever been the object of his wish, and the scope of his ambition, to humble the French, whom he considered as the most formidable enemies of that liberty which he idolized; and all his politics consisted in forming alliances against them. Many of the English, on the other hand, had neither the same animosity against the French, nor the same terrors of their increasing power. These, therefore, considered the interest of the nation as sacrificed to foreign connexions, and complained that the war on the continent fell most heavily on them, though they had the least interest in its success. To these motives of discontent were added the king's partiality to his own countrymen, his proud reserve, and his sullen silence, so unlike the behaviour of former kings. William little regarded those discontents which he knew must be consequent on all government:

accustomed to opposition, he heard their complaints with the most phlegmatic indifference, and employed all his attention only on the balance of power, and the interest of Europe. Thus, while he incessantly watched over the schemes of contending kings and nations, he was unmindful of the cultivation of internal polity; and, as he formed alliances abroad, increased the influence of party at home. Patriotism began to be ridiculed as an ideal virtue; the practice of bribing a majority in parliament became universal; the example of the great was caught up by the vulgar; principle, and even decency, were gradually banished; talents lay uncultivated, and the ignorant and profligate were received into favour.

When he accepted the crown, the king was resolved to preserve, as much as he was able, that share of prerogative which still was left him. He was as yet entirely unacquainted with the nature of a limited monarchy, which was not at that time thoroughly understood in any part of Europe, except England alone. He, therefore, often controverted the views of his parliament, and suffered himself to be directed by weak and arbitrary counsels. One of the first instances of this was in the opposition he gave to a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments to the space of three years. This bill had passed the two houses, and was sent up to receive the royal assent, as usual; but the nation was surprised to find that the king was resolved to exert his prerogative on this occasion, and to refuse his assent to an act which was then considered as beneficial to the nation. Both houses took the alarm; the commons came to a resolution, that whoever advised the king to this measure was an enemy to his country; and the people were taught to echo their resentment. The bill thus rejected, lay dormant for another season; but

being again brought in, the king found himself obliged, though reluctantly, to comply.

The same opposition, and the same event, attended a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason, by which the accused was allowed a copy of his indictment, and a list of the names of his jury, two days before his trial, together with counsel to plead in his defence. It was farther enacted, that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two faithful witnesses ; a law that gave the subject a perfect security from the terrors of the throne.

It was in the midst of these laws, beneficial to the subject, that the Jacobites still conceived hopes of restoring their fallen monarch, and, being uneasy themselves, supposed the whole kingdom shared their disquietudes. While one part proceeded against William in the bolder manner, by attempting to excite an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate con-

A. D. spirators, formed a scheme of assassination. Sir 1696. George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in James's army, a man of undaunted courage, which was still more inflamed by his bigotry to the religion of the church of Rome, undertook the bold task of seizing or assassinating the king. This design he imparted to Harrison, Charnock, Porter, and sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved ; and, after various consultations, it was resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays ; and the scene of their ambushade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. To secure success, it was agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen ; and each conspirator began to engage proper persons to assist in this dangerous enterprise. When their number

was complete, they waited with impatience for the hour of action; but some of the under actors, seized with fear or remorse, resolved to prevent the execution by a timely discovery. One Prendergast, an Irish officer, gave information of the plot, but refused to mention the persons who were concerned as associates in the undertaking. His information was at first disregarded; but it was soon confirmed by La Rue, a Frenchman, and still more by the flight of sir George Barclay, who began to perceive that the whole was discovered. The night subsequent to the intended day of assassination, a considerable number of the conspirators were apprehended, and the whole discovery was communicated to the privy council. Prendergast became an evidence for the crown, and the conspirators were brought to their trial. The first who suffered were Robert Charnock (one of the two fellows of Magdalen college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the protestant religion), lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys. They were found guilty of high-treason, and suffered at Tyburn. Sir John Friend, and sir William Perkins, were next arraigned; and although they made a very good, and, as it should seem, a very sufficient defence, yet lord chief-justice Holt, who was too well known to act rather as counsel against the prisoners than as a solicitor in their favour, influenced the jury to find them guilty. They both suffered at Tyburn with great constancy, denying the charge, and testifying their abhorrence of the assassination. In the course of the month, Rookwood, Cranbourne, and Lowic, were tried by a special commission as conspirators; and, being found guilty, shared the fate of the former. But the case of sir John Fenwick was considered as one of the greatest stretches of power exhibited during this reign. This gentleman, whose name had been mentioned among the rest of the

conspirators, was apprehended in his way to France. There was little evidence against him, except an intercepted letter which he wrote to his wife. It is true he offered to discover all he knew of a conspiracy against the king; but, when he came to enter into the detail, he so managed his information, that it could affect no individual concerned. King William, therefore, sent over word from Holland, where he then was, that unless the A.D. prisoner could make more important discoveries, 1697. he should be brought to his trial. The only material evidences against him, were one Porter, and Goodman: but of these lady Fenwick had the good fortune to secrete one, so that only Porter, a single witness, remained; and his unsupported evidence, by the late law, was insufficient to affect the life of the prisoner. However, the house of commons were resolved to inflict that punishment upon him which the laws were unable to execute. As he had, in his discoveries, made very free with the names of many persons in that house, admiral Russel insisted that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his own character in particular. Sir John Fenwick was ordered to the bar of the house, and there exhorted by the speaker to make an ample discovery. He refused, and a bill of attainder was preferred against him, which was passed by a large majority. He was furnished with a copy of the indictment, and allowed counsel at the bar of the house; and the law-officers of the crown were called upon to open the evidence. After much disputation, in which passion and revenge were rather attended to than reason, the bill was committed, and sent up to the house of lords, where sir John Fenwick was found guilty, by a majority only of seven voices. The prisoner solicited the mediation of the lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The lords gave him to understand, that the

success of his suit would depend on the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for pardon, and they insisted on his trusting to their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy, and terrors of death. At last he chose death as the least terrible; and he suffered beheading on Tower-hill with great composure. His death proved the insufficiency of any laws to protect the subject, when a majority of the powerful shall think proper to dispense with them!

This stretch of power in the parliament was in some measure compensated by their diligence in restraining the universal corruption that seemed at that time to prevail over the kingdom. They were assiduously employed in bringing those to justice who had grown wealthy by public plunder, and increasing the number of those laws which restrained the arts of speculation. The number of these, while they seemed calculated for the benefit of the nation, were in reality symptoms of the general depravity; for the more numerous the laws, the more corrupt the state.

The king, however, on his part, became at length fatigued with opposing the laws which parliament every day were laying round his authority, and gave up the contest. He admitted every restraint upon the prerogative in England, on condition of being properly supplied with the means of humbling the power of France. War and the balance of power in Europe, were all he knew, or indeed desired to understand. Provided the parliament furnished him with supplies for these purposes, he permitted them to rule the internal policy at their pleasure. For the prosecution of the war with France, the sums of money granted him were incredible. The nation, not contented with furnishing him such sums of money as they were capable of raising by the taxes of the year, mortgaged those taxes, and involved themselves in debts

which they have never since been able to discharge. For all that profusion of wealth granted to maintain the imaginary balance of Europe, England received in return the empty reward of military glory in Flanders, and the consciousness of having given their allies, particularly the Dutch, frequent opportunities of being ungrateful.

Sept. 15, The war with France continued during the 1697. greatest part of this king's reign; but at length the treaty of Ryswick put an end to those contentions in which England had engaged without policy, and came off without advantage. In the general pacification, her interest seemed entirely deserted; and for all the treasures she had sent to the continent, and all the blood which she had shed there, the only equivalent she received was an acknowledgement of king William's title from the king of France.

The king, now freed from a foreign war, laid himself out to strengthen his authority at home; but he showed that he was ill acquainted with the disposition of the people he was to govern. As he could not bear the thoughts of being a king without military command, he conceived hopes of keeping up, during peace, the forces that were granted him in time of danger; but what was his mortification to find the commons pass a vote, that all the forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded, and that those retained should be natural-born subjects of England! A monarch bred up in camps as he was, and who knew scarcely any other pleasure than that of reviewing troops and dictating to generals, could not think of laying down at once all his power and all his amusements. He professed himself, therefore, highly displeased with the vote of the commons; and his indignation was kindled to such a pitch, that he actually conceived a

design of abandoning the government. His ministers, however, diverted him from this resolution, and persuaded him to consent to the enactment of the bill. A. D. 1699.

These altercations between the king and parliament continued during the remainder of this reign. William considered the commons as a body of men desirous of power for themselves, and consequently bent upon obstructing all his projects to secure the liberties of Europe. He seemed but little attached to any particular party in the house, all of whom he found, at times, deserted or opposed him. He therefore veered to Whigs and Tories indiscriminately, as interest or immediate exigence demanded. He was taught to consider England as a place of labour, anxiety, and altercation. If he had any time for amusement or relaxation, he retired to Loo in Holland, where, among a few friends, he gave a loose to those coarse festivities, which alone he was capable of relishing. It was there he planned the different successions of the princes of Europe, and laboured to undermine the schemes and the power of Louis, his rival in politics and in fame.

However feeble his desire of other amusements might have been, he could scarcely live without being at variance with France. Peace had not long subsisted with that nation, when he began to think of resources for carrying on a new war, and for enlisting his English subjects in the confederacy. Several arts were used for inducing the people to second his aims; and the whole nation at last seemed to join in desiring a war with that kingdom. He had been in Holland concerting with his allies operations for a new campaign. He had engaged in a negotiation with the prince of Hesse, who assured him, that, if he would besiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile, and divers other grandees of Spain, would

declare for the house of Austria. The elector of Hanover had resolved to concur in the same measures; the king of the Romans, and prince Louis of Baden, undertook to invest Landau, while the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement into Italy; but death put a period to his projects and his ambition.

William was naturally of a very feeble constitution; and it was by this time almost exhausted, by a series of continual disquietude and action. He had endeavoured to repair his constitution, or at least conceal its decays, by exercise and riding. On the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he was thrown with such violence, that his collar-bone was fractured. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced, and in the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach. The jolting of the carriage disunited the fracture; but the bones were replaced under Bidloo his physician. This accident in a robust constitution would have been a trifling misfortune; but in him it was fatal. For some time he appeared in a fair way of recovery; but, falling asleep on his couch, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa, which soon became dangerous and desperate. Perceiving his end approaching, the objects of his former care lay still next his heart; and the fate of Europe seemed to remove the sensations he might be supposed to feel for his own. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, having received the sacrament from archbishop Tenison, he Mar. 8. expired in the fifty-second year of his age, after 1702. having reigned thirteen years. He was in his person of a middle stature, a thin body, and a delicate constitution. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes,

a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He left behind him the character of a great politician, though he had never been popular; and that of a formidable general, though he was seldom victorious. His deportment was grave, phlegmatic, and sullen: nor did he ever show any fire but in the day of battle. He despised flattery, yet loved dominion. Greater as the stadtholder of Holland than as king of England; to the one he was a father, to the other a suspicious friend. His character and success served to show that moderate abilities will achieve the greatest purposes, if the objects aimed at be pursued with perseverance, and planned without unnecessary or ostentatious refinement.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ANNE.

A. D. 1702—1706.

THE nearer we approach to our own times, the more important every occurrence becomes; and those battles or treaties which in remoter times are deservedly forgotten, as we come down are necessary to be known, our own private interests being generally blended with every event; and the accounts of public welfare make often a transcript of private happiness. The loss of king William was thought at first irreparable; but the kingdom soon found that the happiness of any reign is to be estimated as much from the general manners of the times as the private virtues of the monarch. Queen Anne, his successor, with no very shining talents, and few exalted virtues, yet governed with glory, and left her people happy.

Anne, married to prince George of Denmark, ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. She was the second daughter of king James by his first wife, the daughter of chancellor Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon. As she had been taught in the preceding part of her life to suffer many mortifications from the reigning king, she had thus learned to conceal her resentments; and the natural tranquillity of her temper still more contributed to make her overlook and pardon every opposition. She either was insensible of any disrespect shown to her, or had wisdom to assume the appearance of insensibility.

The late king, whose whole life had been spent in one continued opposition to the king of France, and all whose politics consisted in forming alliances against him, had left England at the eve of a war with that monarch. The present queen, who generally took the advice of her ministry in every important transaction, was upon this occasion urged by opposing counsels; a part of her ministry were for war, while another part as sincerely declared for peace.

At the head of those who opposed a war with France was the earl of Rochester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, first cousin to the queen, and the chief of the Tory faction. This minister proposed in council that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and at most act as auxiliaries only. He urged the impossibility of England's reaping any advantage from the most distinguished success upon the continent, and exposed the folly of loading the nation with debts to increase the riches of its commercial rivals.

In the van of those who declared for prosecuting the late king's intentions of going to war with France, was the earl, since better known by the title of the duke, of

Marlborough. This nobleman had begun life as a court-page, and was raised by King James to a peerage. Having deserted his own master, he attached himself in appearance to king William, but had still a secret partiality in favour of the Tories, from whom he had received his first employments. Ever willing to thwart and undermine the measures of William, he became a favourite of Anne for that very reason; she loved a man who still professed reverence and veneration for her father, and paid the utmost attention to herself. But Marlborough had still another hold upon the queen's affections and esteem. He was married to a lady who was the queen's peculiar confidante, and who governed her, in every action of life, with unbounded authority. By this canal Marlborough actually directed the queen in all her resolutions; and, while his rivals strove to advance their reputation in the council, he was more effectually securing it in the closet.

It was not, therefore, without private reasons, that Marlborough supported the arguments for a vigorous war. It first gave him an opportunity of taking a different side of the question from the earl of Rochester, whose influence he desired to lessen; but he had, in the next place, hopes of being appointed general of the forces that should be sent over to the continent; a command that would gratify his ambition in all its varieties. He therefore observed in council, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements. He affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless England would enter as a principal in the quarrel. His opinion preponderated; the queen resolved to declare war, and communicated her intention to the house of commons, by whom it was approved, and war was proclaimed accordingly.

Louis XIV., once arrived at the summit of glory, but long since grown familiar with disappointment and

disgrace, still kept spurring on an exhausted kingdom to second the views of his ambition. He now, upon the death of William, expected to enter upon a field open for conquest and fame. The vigilance of his late rival had blasted all his laurels and circumscribed his power; for even though defeated, William still was formidable. At the news of his death, the French monarch could not suppress his rapture; and his court at Versailles seemed to have forgotten their usual decency in the effusions of their satisfaction. The people at Paris openly rejoiced at the event; and the whole kingdom testified their rapture by every public demonstration of joy. But their pleasure was soon to have an end. A much more formidable enemy was now rising up to oppose them; a more refined politician, a more skilful general, backed by the confidence of an indulgent mistress, and the efforts of a willing nation.

The king of France was, in the queen's declaration of war, taxed with having taken possession of a great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe; to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; and with having offered an unpardonable insult to the queen and her throne, by acknowledging the title of the Pretender. He was accused of attempting to unite the crown of Spain to his own dominions, by placing his grandson upon the throne of that kingdom, and thus endeavouring to destroy the equality of power that subsisted among the states of Europe.

This declaration of war, on the part of the English, was seconded by similar declarations from the Dutch and Germans, all on the same day. The French monarch could not suppress his anger at such a combination; but his chief resentment fell upon the Dutch. He declared, with great emotion, that as for those gentlemen pedlars, the Dutch, they should one day repent their in-

solence and presumption in declaring war against one whose power they had formerly felt and dreaded. However, the affairs of the allies were no way influenced by his threats. Marlborough had his views gratified, in being appointed general of the English forces; and he was equally flattered by the Dutch, who, though their countryman, the earl of Athlone, had a right to share the command, gave the English peer the chief direction of their army; and it must be confessed, that few men shone more, either in debate or action, than he; serene in the midst of danger, and indefatigable in the cabinet: so that he became the most formidable enemy to France that England had produced since the conquering times of Cressy and Agincourt.

A great part of the history of this reign consists of battles fought upon the continent, which, though of very little advantage to the interests of the nation, were very great additions to its honour. These triumphs, it is true, are passed away, and nothing remains of them; but they are too recent to be omitted in silence, and the fame of them, though it be empty, still continues to be loud.

The earl of Marlborough had learned the first rudiments of the art of war under the famous marshal Turenne, having been a volunteer in his army. He was, at first, rather more remarkable for the beauty of his person than the greatness of his talents, and he went in the French Camp by the name of the Handsome Englishman; but Turenne, who saw deeper into mankind, perceived the superiority of his talents, and prognosticated his future greatness. The first attempt that Marlborough made to deviate from the general practices of the army, which were founded in error, was to advance the subaltern officers, whose merit had hitherto been neglected. Regardless of seniority, wherever he found abilities, he was

sure to promote them; and thus he had all the upper ranks of commanders rather remarkable for their skill and talents, than for their age and experience.

In his first campaign, the beginning of July, he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he found himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries, and long disciplined by the best officers of the age. He was opposed, on the side of France, by the duke of Burgundy, grandson to the king, a youth more qualified to grace a court than to conduct an army; but the real acting general was the marshal Boufflers, who commanded under him, an officer of courage and activity. But wherever Marlborough advanced, the French were obliged to retire before him, leaving all Spanish Guelderland at his discretion. The duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving Boufflers to command alone. Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of the enemy's progress, retired towards Brabant, where Marlborough had no design to pursue; contented with ending the campaign by taking the city of Liege, in which he found an immense sum of money and a great number of prisoners. By the success of this campaign, Marlborough raised his military character, and confirmed himself in the confidence of the allies, naturally inclined to distrust a foreign commander.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, was received with the most flattering testimonies of public approbation. He was thanked for his services by the house of commons, and was created a duke by the queen. His good fortune seemed to console the nation for some unsuccessful expeditions at sea. Sir John Munden had permitted a French squadron of fourteen ships to escape

him, by taking shelter in the harbour of Corunna; for which he was dismissed from the service by prince George. An attempt was also made upon Cadiz by sea and land, sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and the duke of Ormond the land forces; but this also miscarried. The English arms, however, were crowned with success at Vigo. The duke of Ormond landed with five and twenty hundred men, at the distance of six miles from the town; and the fleet forcing its way into the harbour, eight French ships that had taken refuge there were burned or otherwise destroyed by the enemy, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the English. Ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons, and above a million of money in silver, which was of more benefit to the captors than to the public. The advantage acquired by this expedition was counterbalanced by the base conduct of some officers in the West Indies. Admiral Benbow, a bold rough seaman, had been stationed in that part of the world with ten ships, to distress the enemy's trade. Being informed that Du Casse, the French admiral, was in those seas with a force equal to his own, he resolved to attack him; and soon after discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha, steering along the shore. He quickly gave orders to his captains, formed the line of battle, and the engagement began. He found, however, that the rest of the fleet had taken some disgust at his conduct; and that they permitted him, almost alone, to sustain the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless the engagement continued till night, and he determined to renew it the next morning, but had the mortification to perceive that all the rest of the ships had fallen back, except one, who joined with him in urging the pursuit of the enemy. For four days did this intrepid seaman, assisted only by one ship, pursue

and engage the enemy, while his cowardly officers, at a distance behind, remained spectators of his activity. His last day's battle was more furious than all the former; alone, and unsustained by the rest, he engaged the whole French squadron, when his leg was shattered by a cannon-ball. He then ordered that they should place him in a cradle upon the quarter-deck; and there he continued to give orders as before, till at last the ship became quite disabled, and was unfit to continue the chase. When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too," cried Benbow, "but I would rather have lost both my legs than see the dishonour of this day. But do you hear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." He soon after died of his wounds; and his cowardly associates, Kirby and Wade, were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot. Hudson died before his trial. Constable, Vincent, and Fog, came off with slighter punishment. Kirby and Wade were sent home in the Bristol man of war, and, on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board the ship, by virtue of a warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time.

The next parliament, which was convened by the queen, was highly pleased with the glare of success which attended the English arms on the continent. The house of commons was mostly composed of the Tory party; and, although they were not so friendly to the war as the Whigs, they voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land-forces to act in conjunction with those of the allies. It was never considered how little necessary these great efforts were either to the happiness or protection of the people; they were exerted against the French, and that was an

answer to every demand. A short time after, the queen gave the house of commons to understand, that the allies pressed her to augment her forces. The commons were as ready to grant as she to demand; and it was resolved that ten thousand men should be added to the army on the continent, but upon condition that the Dutch should break off all commerce with France and Spain. The Dutch complied without hesitation; sensible that while England fought their battles, they might a little relax their industry.

The duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in A. D. the beginning of April, and, assembling the 1703. allied army, resolved to show that his former successes only spurred him on to new triumphs. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonne, the residence of the elector of Cologne. This held out but a short time against the successive attacks of the prince of Hesse-Cassel, the celebrated Coehorn, and general Fagel. He next retook Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered prisoners of war. The siege of Limburg being then undertaken, the place surrendered in two days; and, by the conquest of this place, the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne, from the designs of the enemy. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which, in all probability, would have produced events of greater importance, had not the duke of Marlborough been restrained by the Dutch, who began to be influenced by the Louvestein faction, ever averse to a war with France.

The duke was resolved in his next campaign to act more offensively; and, furnished with proper powers from the queen, he informed the Dutch that it A. D. was his intention to march to the relief of the 1704. empire, which had been for some time oppressed by the

French forces. The states-general, either willing to second his efforts, or fearing to weaken the alliance by distrust, gave him full power to march as he thought proper, with assurances of their assistance in all his endeavours. The French king now appointed marshal Villeroy to head the army of opposition; for Boufflers was no longer thought an equal to the enterprising duke.

Villeroy was son of the French king's governor, and had been educated with that monarch. He had been always the favourite of Louis, and had long been a sharer in his amusements, his campaigns, and his glory. He was brave, generous, and polite, but unequal to the great task of commanding an army; and still more so, when opposed to so great a rival. Marlborough, therefore, who was peculiarly famous for studying the disposition and abilities of the general he was to oppose, having no very great fears from his present antagonist, instead of going forward to meet him, flew to the succour of the emperor, as had been already agreed at the commencement of the campaign. The English general, who was resolved to strike a vigorous blow for his relief, traversed extensive countries by hasty marches, arrived at the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians, stationed at Donawert to oppose him, then passed the Danube with his triumphant army, and laid the dukedom of Bavaria, that had sided with the enemy, under contribution. Villeroy, who at first attempted to follow his motion, seemed all at once to have lost sight of his enemy; nor was he apprised of his route, till informed of his successes. Marshal Tallard prepared by another route to obstruct the duke of Marlborough's retreat with an army of thirty thousand men. He was soon after joined by the Bavarian forces, so that the army in that part of the continent amounted to sixty

thousand veterans, commanded by the two best reputed generals then in France.

Tallard had established his reputation by many former victories; he was active and penetrating, and had risen by his merits alone to the first station in the army. But his ardour often rose to impetuosity; and he was so short-sighted as to be incapable of seeing objects at a very small distance. The duke of Bavaria was equally experienced in the field, and had still stronger motives for his activity. His country was ravaged and pillaged before his eyes, and nothing remained of his possessions but the army which he commanded. It was in vain that he sent entreaties to the enemy to stop the fury of their incursions, and to spare his people; the only answer he received was, that it lay in his own power to make his enemies friends, by alliance or submission. To oppose these powerful generals, Marlborough was now joined by a body of thirty thousand men, under the conduct of prince Eugene, whose troops were well disciplined, but still more formidable by the conduct and fame of their general. Prince Eugene had been bred up from his infancy in camps, he was almost equal to Marlborough in intrigue, and his superior in the art of war. Their talents were of a similar kind; and, instead of any mean rivalry or jealousy between such eminent persons, they concurred in the same designs; for the same good sense determined them always to the same object.

This allied army, at the head of which Eugene and Marlborough commanded, amounted to about fifty-two thousand men, troops that had long been accustomed to conquer, and that had seen the French, the Turks, and the Russians fly before them. The French, as was already observed, amounted to sixty thousand, who had shared in the conquests of their great monarch, and

had been familiar with victory. Both armies, after many marchings and countermarchings, approached each other. The French were posted on a hill near the town of Hochstet; their right covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzengen; and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. It was in this advantageous position that the allied army resolved to attack them. As this engagement, which has since been known by the name of the battle of Blenheim, both from the talents of the generals, the improvements in the art of war, and the number and discipline of the troops, is reckoned the most remarkable of this century, it demands a more particular detail than I have usually allotted to such narrations.

The right wing of the French, which was covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, was commanded by marechal Tallard. Their left, defended by another village, was commanded by the duke of Bavaria, and under him by general Marsin, an experienced Frenchman. In the front of their army ran a rivulet, which seemed to defend them from an attack; and in this position they were willing to await the enemy, rather than offer battle. On the other hand, Marlborough and Eugene were stimulated to engage them at any rate, by an intercepted letter from Villeroy, who was left behind, intimating that he was preparing to cut off all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the allied forces advanced into the plain, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued to about half after twelve. Then the troops advanced to the attack; the right under the direction of prince Eugene, the left

headed by Marlborough, and opposed to marechal Tallard.

Marlborough, at the head of his English Aug. 2, troops, having passed the rivulet, attacked 1704. the cavalry of Tallard with great bravery. This general was at that time reviewing the disposition of his troops to the left; and his cavalry fought for some time without the presence of their commander. Prince Eugene on the left had not yet attacked the forces of the elector: and it was near an hour before he could bring up his troops to the engagement.

Tallard was no sooner informed that his right was attacked by the duke, than he flew to its head, where he found a furious encounter already begun; his cavalry being thrice driven back, and rallying as often. He had posted a large body of forces in the village of Blenheim; and he made an attempt to bring them to the charge. They were attacked by a detachment of Marlborough's forces so vigorously, that, instead of assisting the main body, they could hardly maintain their ground. All the French cavalry, being attacked in flank, were totally defeated. The English army, thus half victorious, penetrated between the two bodies of the French commanded by the marechal and elector, while at the same time the forces in the village of Blenheim were separated by another detachment. In this distressed situation, Tallard flew to rally some squadrons; but, from his short-sightedness, mistaking a detachment of the enemy for his own, he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops, who were in English pay. In the mean time prince Eugene, after having been thrice repulsed, threw the enemy into confusion. The rout then became general, and the flight precipitate. The consternation was such, that the French soldiers threw themselves into the Danube, without knowing

where they fled. The officers lost all their authority, and there was no general left to secure a retreat.

The allies now being masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, where a body of thirteen thousand men had been posted in the beginning of the action, and still kept their ground. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of the army, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus ended the battle of Blenheim, one of the most complete victories that was ever gained. Twelve thousand French and Bavarians were slain in the field, or drowned in the Danube, and thirteen thousand were made prisoners of war. Of the allies, about five thousand men were killed, and eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by marechal Tallard; namely, his weakening the centre by placing so large a body of troops in Blenheim, and his suffering the English to cross the rivulet, and form on the other side.

The next day, when the duke of Marlborough visited his prisoner, the marechal, intending a compliment, assured him that he had overcome the best troops in the world. "I hope, sir," replied the duke, "you will except those troops by whom they were conquered." A country of a hundred leagues in extent fell by this defeat into the hands of the victors. Not contented with these conquests, the duke, soon after he had closed the campaign, repaired to Berlin, where he procured a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians to serve under prince Eugene in Italy. Thence he proceeded to negotiate for succours at the court of Hanover, and soon after returned to England, where he found the people in a phrensy of joy. He was received as the deliverer of the state, as one who had retrieved

the glory of the nation. The parliament and the people were ready to second him in all his designs. The manor of Woodstock was conferred upon him for his services by both houses; an eulogium was pronounced upon his important services by the lord-keeper as he entered the house of lords. The queen was not only pleased with these marks of respect shown him, but also ordered the comptroller of her works to build in Woodstock-park a magnificent palace for the duke, which remains to this day a monument, as the best judges now begin to think, not less of his victories, than of the skill of the architect who raised it.

In the mean time, the arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been upon the Danube. The ministry of England, understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron at Brest, sent sir Cloudesly Shovel, and sir George Rooke, to watch their motions. Sir George, however, had farther orders to convoy a body of forces in transport-ships to Barcelona, upon which a fruitless attack was made by the prince of Hesse. Finding no hopes, therefore, from this expedition, in two days after the troops were re-embarked sir George Rooke, joined by sir Cloudesly, called a council of war on board the fleet as they lay off the coast of Africa. In this they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, a city then belonging to the Spaniards, at that time ill provided with a garrison, as neither expecting nor fearing such an attempt.

The town of Gibraltar stands upon a tongue of land, as the mariners call it, and defended by a rock inaccessible on every side but one. The prince of Hesse landed his troops, to the number of eighteen hundred, on the continent adjoining, and summoned the town to surrender, but without effect. Next day the admiral

gave orders for cannonading the town ; and, perceiving that the enemy were driven from the fortifications at a place called the South Mole-head, he ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. Those officers who happened to be nearest the mole immediately manned their boats, without orders, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. But their exertions were premature ; for the Spaniards sprang a mine, by which two lieutenants, and about a hundred men, were killed and wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains, Hicks and Jumper, took possession of a platform, and kept their ground, until they were sustained by captain Whitaker and the rest of the seamen, who took a redoubt between the mole and the town by storm. Then the governor capitulated, and the prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of the attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications. When the news of this conquest reached England, it was some time in debate whether it was a capture worth thanking the admiral for. It was at last considered as unworthy of public gratitude ; and, while the duke of Marlborough was extolled for useless services, sir George Rooke was left to neglect, and soon displaced from his command, for having so essentially served his country : a striking instance that, even in the most enlightened age, popular applause is most usually misplaced. Gibraltar has ever since remained in the possession of the English, and continues of the utmost use in refitting that part of the navy destined to annoy an enemy, or protect our trade in the Mediterranean. Here the English have a repository capable of containing all things necessary for the repairing of fleets, or the equipment of armies.

Soon after the reduction of this important fortress, the English fleet, now become sovereign of the seas, to

the number of three and fifty ships of the line, came up with the French fleet, to the number of fifty-two, commanded by the count de Thoulouse, off the coast of Malaga. This was the last great naval engagement in which the French ventured to face the English upon equal terms, all their efforts since being calculated rather for escape than opposition. A little after ten in the morning the battle began with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way. For two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the French fleet as cautiously declined, and at last disappeared totally. Both nations attempted to claim the honour of the victory upon this occasion; but the consequence decided it in favour of the English, as they still kept the element of battle.

The taking of Gibraltar was a conquest of which the Spaniards knew the loss, though we seemed ignorant of the value. Philip, king of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of that fortress, sent the marquis of Villadarias with a large army to retake it. France also A. D. sent a fleet of thirteen ships of the line; but 1705. a part of this was dispersed by a tempest, and part was taken by the English. Nor was the land army more successful. The siege continued for four months, during which time the prince of Hesse, who commanded the town for the English, exhibited many proofs of valour. At length the Spaniards having attempted to scale the rock in vain, finding no hopes of taking the place, were contented to draw off their men, and abandon the enterprise.

While the English were thus victorious by land and sea, a new scene of contention was opened on the side of Spain, where the ambition of the European princes ex-

erted itself with the same fury that had filled the rest of the continent. Philip duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, had been placed upon the throne of that kingdom, and had been received with the joyful concurrence of the greatest part of his subjects. He had also been nominated successor to the crown by the will of the late king of Spain. But, in a former treaty among the powers of Europe, Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, was appointed heir to that crown; and this treaty had been guaranteed by France herself, though she now resolved to reverse that consent in favour of a descendant of the house of Bourbon. Charles was still farther led on to put in for the crown of Spain by the invitation of the Catalonians, who declared in his favour, and by the assistance of the English and the Portuguese who promised to arm in his cause. Upon his way to his newly-assumed dominion he landed in England, where he was received on shore by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor. The queen's deportment to him was equally noble and obliging, while, on his side, he gave general satisfaction, by the politeness and affability of his demeanour. He was furnished with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and nine thousand men, for the conquest of that extensive empire. But the earl of Peterborough, a man of romantic bravery, offered to conduct them; and his single service was thought equivalent to armies.

The earl of Peterborough was one of the most singular and extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. When very young, he fought against the Moors in Africa: he afterwards assisted in compassing the Revolution; and he now carried on the war in Spain almost at his own expense,—his friendship for the archduke Charles being one of his chief motives to this

great undertaking. . He was deformed in his person ; but of a mind the most generous, honourable, and active. His first attempt upon landing in Spain was to besiege Barcelona, a strong city with a garrison of five thousand men, while his own army amounted to little more than nine thousand. The operations were begun by a sudden attack on Fort Monjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The out-works were taken by storm ; and a shell chancing to fall into the body of the fort, the powder magazine was blown up. This struck the garrison that defended the fort with such consternation, that they surrendered without farther resistance. The town still remained unconquered ; but batteries were erected against it, and after a few days the governor capitulated. During the interval, which was taken up in demanding and signing the necessary form upon these occasions, a body of Germans and Catalonians, belonging to the English army, entered the town, and were plundering all before them. The governor, who was then treating with the English general, thought himself betrayed, and upbraided that nobleman's treachery. Peterborough, struck with the suddenness of the transaction, left the writings unfinished, and, flying among the plunderers, drove them from their prey, and then returned calmly and signed the capitulation. The Spaniards were equally amazed at the generosity of the English, and the baseness of their own countrymen, who had led on to the spoil. The conquest of all Valencia succeeded the taking of this important place. The enemy endeavoured indeed to retake Barcelona, but were repulsed with loss, and the affairs of Philip seemed desperate. The party that acknowledged Charles was every day increasing. A. D. He became master of a considerable part of the 1706. kingdom ; and the way to Madrid lay open to him.

The earl of Galway entered that city in triumph, and there proclaimed Charles king of Spain, without any opposition. Such was the beginning of the war, as conducted by the allies in Spain ; but its end was more unfortunate and indecisive.

In the mean time, the English paid very little regard to these victories ; for their whole attention was taken up by the splendour of their conquests in Flanders ; and the duke of Marlborough took care that they should still have something to wonder at. He had early in the spring opened the campaign, and brought an army of eighty thousand men into the field, which was greater than what he had hitherto been able to muster. But still he expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia ; and the court of France resolved to attack him before this junction. Villeroy, who commanded their army, consisting of eighty thousand men, near Tirlmont, had orders to act upon the defensive ; but, if compelled, to hazard an engagement. The duke, on the other hand, had received a slight repulse by the defection of prince Louis of Baden ; and he resolved to retrieve his credit by some signal action. Villeroy had drawn up his forces in a strong camp ; his right was flanked by the river Mehaigne ; his left was posted behind a marsh, and the village of Ramillies lay in the centre. Marlborough, who perceived this disposition, drew up his army accordingly. He knew that the left wing of the enemy could not pass the marsh to attack him but at a great disadvantage ; he therefore weakened his troops in that quarter, and thundered on the centre with superior numbers. The enemy's centre was soon obliged to yield in consequence of this attack, and at length gave way on all sides. The horse, abandoning their foot, were so closely pursued, that almost all were cut to pieces. Six thousand men were taken pri-

soners, and about eight thousand were killed and wounded. This victory was almost as signal as that of Blenheim; Bavaria and Cologne were the fruits of the one, and all Brabant was gained by the other. The French troops were dispirited; the city of Paris was in confusion. Louis, who had long been flattered with conquest, was now humbled to such a degree as almost to excite the compassion of his enemies. He entreated for peace, but in vain; the allies carried all before them, and his very capital began to dread the approach of the conquerors. What neither his power, his armies, nor his politics, could effect, was brought about by a party in England. The dissension between the Whigs and Tories in England saved France, now tottering on the brink of ruin.

CHAPTER XIX.

ANNE. (Continued.)

A. D. 1706—1707.

THE councils of the queen had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry; for, though the duke of Marlborough had first started in the Tory interest, he soon joined the opposite faction, as he found them most sincere in their desires to humble the power of France. The Whigs still pursued the schemes of the late king; and, impressed with a republican spirit of liberty, strove to humble despotism in every part of Europe. In a government where the reasoning of individuals, retired from power, generally leads those who command, the designs of the ministry must alter as the people happen to change. The people in fact were beginning to change. The queen's personal virtues, her successes,

her deference for the clergy, and, in turn, their great veneration for her, began to have a prevailing influence over the whole nation. The people of every rank were not ashamed to defend the most servile tenets, when they tended to flatter or increase the power of the sovereign. They argued in favour of strict hereditary succession, divine right, and non-resistance to the regal power. The spirit of Toryism began to prevail; and the Whigs, who had raised the queen into greatness, were the first that were likely to fall by their own success.

The Tories, though joining in vigorous measures against the king of France, were, however, never ardently his enemies; they rather secretly hated the Dutch, as of principles very opposite to their own, and only longed for an opportunity of withdrawing from their friendship. They began to meditate schemes of opposition to the duke of Marlborough. They were taught to regard him as a self-interested man, who sacrificed the real advantages of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war, for his own private emolument and glory. They saw their country oppressed by an increasing load of taxes, which, by a continuance of the war, must inevitably become an intolerable burthen. Their secret discontents, therefore, began to spread; and the Tories wanted only a few determined leaders to conduct them in removing the present ministry.

A.D. In the mean time, a pause of victory, or rather a succession of losses, began to dissipate the conquering phrensy which had seized the nation, and inclined them to wish for peace. The army under Charles in Spain was then commanded by the lord Galway. This nobleman, having received intelligence that the French and Spaniards, under the command of the duke of Berwick, were posted near the town of Almanza,

advanced thither to give them battle. The conflict began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, seemed at first victorious; but the Portuguese horse (by whom they were supported), betaking themselves to flight on the first charge, the other troops were flanked and surrounded. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired to an eminence, where, being ignorant of the country, and destitute of all supplies, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, to the number of five thousand men. This victory was complete and decisive; and all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, submitted to Philip.

An attempt was made upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene by land, and the English fleet by sea, but with as little success as in the former instance. The prince, with a body of thirty thousand men, took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole. But the French king sending an army to the relief of the place, and the duke of Savoy perceiving no hopes of compelling the city to a speedy surrender, he resolved to abandon his enterprise; and, having embarked his artillery, he retreated by night without any molestation.

The fleet under sir Cloudesly Shovel was still more unfortunate. Having set sail for England, and being in soundings on the twenty-second day of October, about eight at night a violent storm arising, his ship was dashed upon the rocks of Scilly, and every soul on board perished. The like fate befell three ships more, while three or four others were saved with the utmost difficulty. The admiral's body, being cast ashore, was

stripped and buried in the sand; but this being thought too humble a funeral for so brave a commander, it was dug up again, and interred with proper solemnity in Westminster-abbey.

Nor were the allies more prosperous on the Upper Rhine. Marshal Villars, the French general, carried all before him, and was upon the point of restoring the elector of Bavaria. The only hopes of the people lay in the activity and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who opened the campaign in the Netherlands, about the middle of May. But even here they were disappointed, as in all the rest. That general, either really willing to protract the war, or receiving intelligence that the French army was superior in numbers, declined an engagement, and rather endeavoured to secure himself than annoy the enemy. Thus, after several marchings and countermarchings, which it would be tedious to relate, both armies retired into winter-quarters at the latter end of October. The French made preparations for the next campaign with recruited vigour. The duke of Marlborough returned to England, to meet with a reception which he did not at all expect.

Previous to the disgrace of the Whig ministry, whose fall was now hastening, a measure of the greatest importance took place in parliament; a measure that had been wished by many, but thought too difficult for execution. What I mean is, the union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; which, though they had been governed by one sovereign since the accession of James the First, were still ruled by their respective parliaments, and often professed to pursue opposite interests and different designs. An union of both parliaments was at one time passionately desired by James. King Charles, his son, took some steps to effect

this measure ; but some apparently insurmountable objections lay in the way. This great task was reserved for queen Anne to accomplish, at a time when both nations were in good humour at their late successes, and the queen's title and administration were admitted and approved by all.

The attempt for an union was begun at the commencement of this reign : but some disputes arising relative to the trade of the East, the conference was broken up, and it was thought that an adjustment would be impossible. It was revived by an act of each parliament, granting power to commissioners named on the part of both nations, to treat of the preliminary articles of an union, which should afterwards undergo a more thorough discussion by the legislative body of both kingdoms. The choice of these commissioners was left to the queen ; and she took care that none should be employed but such as heartily wished to promote so desirable a measure.

Accordingly, the queen having appointed commissioners on both sides, they met in the council-chamber of the Cock-pit, near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for their conferences. Their commissions being opened, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the lord-keeper of England and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, the conferences began. The Scottish commissioners were inclined to a federal union like that of the United Provinces ; but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The lord-keeper Cowper proposed that the two kingdoms should be for ever united into one by the name of Great Britain ; that it should be represented by one and the same parliament, and governed by the same hereditary monarch. The Scottish commissioners,

on their side, insisted that the subjects of Scotland should for ever enjoy the same rights and privileges with those of England; and that all statutes, contrary to the tenor of these privileges in either kingdom, should be repealed. As the queen frequently exhorted the commissioners to dispatch, the articles of this famous union were soon agreed to and signed by the commissioners; and it only remained to lay them before the parliaments of both nations.

In this treaty it was stipulated, that the succession to the united kingdoms should be vested in the house of Hanover; that they should be represented by one and the same parliament; that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages; that they should have the same allowances and privileges with respect to commerce and customs; that the laws concerning public right, civil government and policy, should be the same throughout the united kingdoms; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private rights, except for the evident benefit of the subjects of Scotland; that the court of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain, as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union; that Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, by sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland; that all peers of Scotland should be considered as peers of Great Britain, and rank immediately after the English peers of the like degrees at the time of the union, and before such as should be created after it; that they should enjoy all the privileges of English peers, except that of sitting and voting in parliament, or sitting upon the trial of peers; that all the *insignia*

of royalty and government should remain as they were; that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should cease, and be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms. These were the principal articles of the union; and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both kingdoms to give them authority; but this was a much more difficult undertaking than it was at first imagined to be. It was not only to be approved by the parliament of Scotland, all the popular members of which were averse to the union, but it was also to pass through both houses in England, where it was not a little disagreeable, except to the ministry, who had proposed it.

The arguments in these different assemblies were suited to the audience. To induce the Scottish parliament to come into the measure, it was alleged by the ministry, and their supporters, that an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace. It would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. It would increase their strength, riches, and commerce; the whole island would be joined in affection, and freed from all apprehensions of different interests. It would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the protestant interest, and maintain the liberties of Europe. It was observed, that the less the wheels of government were clogged by a multiplicity of councils, the more vigorous would be their exertions. They were shown that the taxes which, in consequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means so great proportionably as their share in the legislature; that their taxes did not amount to a seventieth part of those supplied by the English; and yet their share in the le-

CHAPTER XX.

ANNE. (Continued.)

A. D. 1707—1711.

It is a little extraordinary, that through all the transactions relative to the union, the Tories violently opposed it; for they considered the Scots in a body as Whigs, and supposed that their interest would become more powerful by this association. But never were men more agreeably disappointed than the Tories were in this particular. The majority of the Scottish nation were so much dissatisfied with the measure, that they immediately joined in opposing the ministry by whom they were thus compelled to unite. The members themselves were not pleased with the scheme, and secretly strove to undermine those by whom their power had been thus established.

The body of English Tories were not less displeased with an union, of which they had not sagacity to distinguish the advantages. They had for some time become the majority in the kingdom, but found themselves opposed by a powerful coalition at court. The duchess of Marlborough had long been in possession of the queen's confidence and favour, and turned the easiness of her mistress's temper to her own advantage, as well as that of her party. The duke of Marlborough was still at the head of the army, which was devoted to him. Lord Godolphin, his principal friend, was at the head of the treasury, which he managed so as entirely to co-operate with the ambition of the duke. But an unexpected alteration in the queen's affections was going to take place, which was entirely owing to their own misma-

nagement. Among the number of those whom the duchess had introduced to the queen, to contribute to her private amusement, was one Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had raised from indigence and obscurity. The duchess, having gained the ascendant over the queen, became petulant and insolent, and relaxed in those arts by which she had risen. Mrs. Masham, who had her fortune to make, was more humble and assiduous; she flattered the foibles of the queen, and assented to her prepossessions and prejudices. She soon saw the queen's inclination to the opinions of the Tories, their divine right and passive obedience; and instead of attempting to thwart her as the duchess had done, she joined with her partiality, and even outwent her in her own way.

She began to insinuate to the queen that the Tories were by far the majority of the people; that they were displeased with a ministry that attempted to rule their sovereign, and had lavished the treasures of the nation on wars which they chose to carry on in order to continue in power. But though this intriguing woman seemed to act from herself alone, she was in fact the tool of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, who also, some time before, had insinuated himself into the queen's good graces, and who determined to sap the credit of Godolphin and Marlborough. His aim was to unite the Tory interest under his own shelter, and to expel the Whigs from the advantages which they had long enjoyed under the government. Harley, better known afterwards by the title of lord Oxford, was a man possessed of uncommon erudition, great knowledge of business, and as great ambition. He was close, phlegmatic, and cool; but at the same time more fond of the splendors than the drudgeries of office.

In his career of ambition, he chose for his coadjutor Henry St. John, afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence, and greater ambition, enterprising, restless, active, and haughty, with some wit and little principle. This statesman was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to Oxford's designs. It was not till afterwards, when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, that he was fired with the ambition of being first in the state, and aspired to depress his first promoter.

To this junto was added sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer, and a man of great abilities. These uniting, exerted their endeavours to rally and reconcile the scattered body of the Tories; and diffused assurances among their partisans, that the queen would no longer bear the tyranny of a Whig ministry. She had ever been, they said, a friend in her heart to the Tory and high-church party, by which appellation this faction now chose to be distinguished; and, to convince them of the truth of their assertions, the queen herself shortly after bestowed two bishoprics on clergymen who had openly condemned the Revolution.

It was now perceived that the people began to be
A. D. weary of the Whig ministry, whom they formerly
1708. caressed. To them they imputed the burthens under which they groaned, burthens which they had been hitherto animated to bear by the pomp of triumph, but the load of which they felt in a pause of success. No new advantage had of late been shown them from the Netherlands. France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, as they had been taught to expect, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow. The English merchants had lately sustained repeated losses, for want of proper convoys; the coin

of the nation was visibly diminished, and the public credit began to decline.

The ministry were for a long time ignorant of those secret murmurings, or, secure in their own strength, pretended to despise them. Instead, therefore, of attempting to mitigate the censures propagated against them, or to soften the virulence of the faction, they continued to tease the queen with remonstrances against her conduct, and upbraided her with ingratitude for those services which had secured her glory. The murmurs of the nation first found vent in the house of lords, where some complaints of the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy, were supported by a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of the city, aggravating their losses by sea for want of convoys. It began now to be urged, that attacking France in the Netherlands was taking the bull by the horns,—attempting the enemy where it was best prepared for a defence. Harley was at the bottom of all these complaints; and though they did not produce an immediate effect, yet they did not fail of a growing and steady operation.

At length the Whig members of the administration opened their eyes to the intrigues of their pretended coadjutor. The duchess of Marlborough perceived, when it was too late, that she was supplanted by her insidious rival; and her husband found no other means of re-establishing his credit, but by openly opposing Harley, whom he could not otherwise displace. The secretary had lately incurred some suspicions, from the secret correspondence which one Gregg, an under-clerk in his office, kept up with the court of France. Gregg was executed; and the duke of Marlborough was willing to take advantage of this opportunity to remove Harley.

He accordingly wrote to the queen, that he and lord Godolphin could serve her no longer, should the present secretary be continued in his place. The queen, no way regarding the secret intrigues of her ministers, was willing to keep them all in friendship, and endeavoured to appease the duke's resentment by every art of persuasion. But he was too confident of his own power, and continued obstinate in his refusal. The earl of Godolphin and the duke went so far as to retire from court, and the queen saw herself in danger of being deserted by her whole ministry. A sullen silence prevailed through the cabinet-council; and some were even heard to say, that no deliberations could be pursued in the absence of the duke and the lord-treasurer.

The queen now, for the first time, perceived the power which these two ministers had assumed over her councils. She found that they were willing to place and displace the servants of the crown at pleasure, and that nothing was left to her but to approve such measures as they thought fit to press upon her choice. She secretly, therefore, resolved to remove a ministry that had thus become odious to her; but in the present exigence she was obliged to give way to their demands. She sent for the duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office; and it was accordingly conferred on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer.

The first efforts of the Tory party being thus frustrated, Bolingbroke was resolved to share in his friend Harley's disgrace, as also sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, and sir Thomas Mansell, comptroller of the household, who all voluntarily relinquished their employments. Bolingbroke's employment of secretary at war was conferred upon Robert Walpole, a man who

began to be considerable in the house of commons, and who afterwards made such a figure in the two succeeding reigns.

The duke seemed to triumph in the success of his resentment, not considering that by this step he entirely lost the confidence of the queen. He returned to prosecute his victories on the continent, where a new harvest of glory attended him, which, however, did not re-establish his power.

This violent measure, which seemed at first favourable to the Whig ministry, laid the foundation of its ruin. Harley was now enabled to throw off the mask of friendship, and to take more vigorous measures for the prosecution of his designs. In him the queen reposed all her trust, though he now had no visible concern in the administration. The first triumph of the Tories, in which the queen discovered a public partiality in their favour, was seen in a transaction of no great importance in itself, but from the consequences it produced. The parties of the nation were eager to engage, and they wanted but the watch word to begin. This was given, by a man neither of abilities, property, nor power, but accidentally brought forward on this occasion.

Henry Sacheverel was a clergyman bred at Oxford, of narrow intellects, and an overheated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-churchmen, and had taken all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby he had held forth in that strain before the judges. On the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance, inveighed against the toleration of dissenters, and declared that the church was dangerously attacked by its enemies, and slightly defended by its false friends. He sounded

the trumpet for the zealous, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Gerard, lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which, though very weak both in the matter and style, was published under his protection, and extolled by the Tories as a master-piece of writing. These sermons owed all their celebrity to the complexion of the times, and they are now deservedly neglected.

A. D. Mr. Dolben, son to the archbishop of York, 1709. laid a complaint before the house of commons against these rhapsodies, and thus gave force to what would have soon been forgotten. The most violent paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel was brought to the bar of the house; and he, far from disowning the writing of them, gloried in what he had done, and mentioned the encouragement he had received to publish them from the lord-mayor, who was then present. Being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors at the bar of the house of lords; and Mr. Dolben was fixed upon to conduct the prosecution, in the name of the commons of all England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeachment; Sacheverel was taken into custody, and a day appointed for his trial before the lords in Westminster-hall.

Meanwhile the Tories, who, one and all, approved his principles, were as violent in his defence as the commons had been in his prosecution. They boldly affirmed, that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. The clergy did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, al-

ready prepared for discontent, arising from a scarcity of provisions, which at that time prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The dangers were magnified to which the church was exposed from dissenters, Whigs, and lukewarm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, that brought on that very dearth which they were then deploring. Such an extensive party declaring in favour of Sacheverel, after the articles were exhibited against him, the lords thought fit to admit him to bail.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned A. D. upon this very extraordinary trial, which lasted 1710. three weeks, and excluded all other public business for the time. The queen herself was every day present as a private spectator, while vast multitudes attended the culprit each day as he went to the hall, shouting as he passed, or silently praying for his success. The managers for the commons were sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general, sir Peter King, recorder, general Stanhope, sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Walpole. The doctor was defended by sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. Phipps, assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Freind. While the trial continued, nothing could exceed the violence and outrage of the populace. They surrounded the queens's sedan, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church! we hope your majesty is for doctor Sacheverel." They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwellings of many eminent dissenters, and even proposed to attack the Bank. The queen, in compliance with the request of the commons, published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons, being apprehended, were tried for high-treason. Two were convicted, and sentenced to die; but neither suffered.

When the commons had gone through their charge,

the managers for Sacheverel undertook his defence with great art and eloquence. He afterwards recited a speech himself, which, from the difference found between it and his sermons, seems evidently the work of another. In this he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government. He spoke in the most respectful terms of the Revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance as a tenet of the church in which he was brought up; and, in a pathetic conclusion, endeavoured to excite the pity of his audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was favoured by the queen herself, who could not but approve a doctrine that confirmed her authority and enlarged her power.

Those who are removed from the interests of that period may be apt to regard with wonder so great a contest from so slight a cause; but in fact, the spirit of contention was before laid in the nation, and this person only happened to set fire to the train. The lords, when they retired to consult upon the sentence, were divided, and continued undetermined for some time. At length, after much obstinate dispute, and virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; but no less than four and thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for three years; and his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

The lenity of this sentence which was, in a great measure, owing to the dread of popular resentment, was considered by the Tories as a triumph. They declared their joy in bonfires and illuminations, and openly avowed their rage against his persecutors. Soon after, he

was presented to a benefice in North Wales, where he went with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and many noblemen, in his way, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by one Mr. Cresswell, at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands, and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. "The church and Dr. Sacheverel," was the universal cry; and a spirit of religious enthusiasm spread through the nation.

Such was the complexion of the times, when the queen thought proper to summon a new parliament; and, being a friend to the Tories herself, she gave the people an opportunity of indulging themselves in choosing representatives to their mind. In fact, very few were returned but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig administration. The Whigs were no longer able to keep their ground against the voice of the people, and the power of the queen. Though they had entrenched themselves behind a very formidable body in the house of lords, and though by their wealth and family connexions they had in a manner fixed themselves in office, yet they were now upon the edge of dissolution, and required but a breeze to blow them from their height, where they imagined themselves so secure.

The duke had some time before gone back to Flanders, where he led on the united armies to great, though dear-bought, victories. The French were dispirited, indeed,

and rather kept upon the defensive ; but still, when forced to engage, they fought with great obstinacy, and seemed to gather courage as the frontiers of their own country became more nearly threatened.

Peace had more than once been offered, and treaties had been entered upon, and frustrated. After the battle of Ramillies, the king of France had employed the elector of Bavaria, to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough, containing proposals for opening a congress. He offered to give up either Spain and its dominions, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to Charles of Austria, and to give a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands. But these terms were rejected. The Dutch were intoxicated with success ; and the duke of Marlborough had every motive to continue the war, as it gratified not only his ambition but his avarice ; a passion that obscured his shining abilities.

The duke was resolved to push his good fortune. At the head of a numerous army, he approached (in June 1708) the village of Oudenarde, where the French, in equal numbers, were posted. A furious engagement ensued, in which the French were obliged to retire, and took the advantage of the night to secure their retreat. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle, seven thousand were taken prisoners, and the number of their deserters was not a few. In consequence of this victory, Lisle, the strongest town in all Flanders, was taken, after an obstinate siege. Ghent followed soon after ; while Bruges and other Flemish towns were abandoned by their defenders. Thus this campaign ended with fixing a barrier to the Dutch dominions, and it now only remained to force a way into the provinces of the enemy.

The repeated successes of the allies once more induced the French king to offer terms of peace. In these

he was resolved to sacrifice all considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interests of his grandson of Spain, to a measure which had become so necessary and indispensable. A conference ensued, in which the allies rose in their demands, without, however, stipulating any thing in favour of the English. The demands were rejected by France; and that exhausted kingdom once more prepared for another campaign.

Tournay, one of the strongest cities in Flanders, was in the next campaign, the first object of the operations of the allied army, which now amounted to one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve thousand men, yet the place was so strong both by art and nature, that it was probable the siege might last a considerable time. Nothing could be more terrible than the manner of engaging on both sides. As the besiegers proceeded by sapping, their troops that were conducting the mines frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and furiously engaged in subterraneous conflicts. The volunteers presented themselves, in the midst of mines and countermines, ready primed for explosion, and added new horrors to their gloomy situation. Sometimes they were killed by accident, sometimes sprung up by design; while thousands of those bold men were thus buried at once by the falling in of the earth, or blown up into the air from below. At length, after an obstinate resistance, the town was surrendered upon conditions, and the garrison of the citadel soon after were made prisoners of war.

The bloody battle of Malplaquet followed soon after. The French army, under the conduct of the great marshal Villars, amounting to a hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet.

They had fortified their situation in such a manner with lines, hedges, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. The duke's motives for attacking them at such a disadvantage to himself are not well known; but certainly this was the most rash and ill-judged attempt during all his campaigns. On the thirty-first of August, 1709, early in the morning, the allied army, favoured by a thick fog, began the attack. The chief fury of their impression was made upon the left of the enemy, and with such success, that, notwithstanding their lines and barricades, the French were in less than an hour driven from their entrenchments. But on the enemy's right the combat was sustained with much greater obstinacy. The Dutch, who carried on the attack, drove them from their first line, but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The prince of Orange, who headed that attack, persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, though two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers slain and disabled. At last, however, the French were obliged to yield up the field of battle; but not till after having sold a dear victory. Villars being dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post near Le Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The conquerors took possession of the field of battle, on which twenty thousand of their best troops lay slain. Marechal Villars confidently asserted, that if he had not been disabled, he would have gained a certain victory; and it is probable, from that general's former successes, that what he said was true. The city of Mons was the reward of this victory, which surrendered shortly after to the allied army; and with this conquest the allies concluded the campaign.

Though the events of this campaign were more favour-

able to Louis than he had reason to expect, he still continued desirous of peace, and once more resolved to solicit a conference. He employed one Petkum, resident of the duke of Holstein at the Hague, to negotiate upon this subject; and he ventured also to solicit the duke himself in private. However, as his affairs now were less desperate than in the beginning of the campaign, he would not stand to those conditions which he then offered as preliminaries to a conference. The Dutch inveighed against his insincerity for thus retracting his former offers; not considering that he certainly had a right to retract those offers which they formerly had rejected. They still had reasons for protracting the war, and the duke took care to confirm them in this resolution. Nevertheless, the French king, seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, continued to humble himself before the allies; and by means of Petkum, who still corresponded from the Hague with his ministers, implored the Dutch that the negotiation might be resumed. A conference was at length begun at Gertruydenberg, under the influence of Marlborough, Eugene, and Zinzendorff; who were all three, from private motives, entirely averse to the treaty. Upon this occasion the French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification: spies were placed upon their conduct, their master was insulted, and their letters were opened. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negotiation. The French commissioners offered to satisfy every complaint that had given rise to the war: they consented to abandon Philip of Spain; they agreed to grant the Dutch a large barrier; they even were willing to grant a supply towards the de-throning of Philip; but all their offers were treated with contempt: they were therefore compelled to return

home, after having sent a letter to the states, in which they declared that the proposals made by their deputies were unjust and impracticable, and complained of the unworthy treatment they had received. Louis resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope that some lucky incident in the event of war, or some happy change in the ministry of England, might procure him more favourable concessions.

But though the duke, by these arts, protracted his power on the continent, all his influence at home was at an end. The members of the house of commons, that had been elected just after Sacheverel's trial, were almost universally Tories. From all parts of the kingdom addresses were sent and presented to the queen, confirming the doctrine of non-resistance; and the queen did not scruple to receive them with some pleasure. But when the conferences were ended at Gertruydenberg, the designs of the Dutch and English commanders were too obvious not to be perceived. The writers of the Tory faction, who were men of the first rank in literary merit, and who still more chimed in with the popular opinion, displayed the avarice of the duke, and the self interested conduct of the Dutch. They pretended that, while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests for the benefit of other nations, she was losing her liberty at home. They asserted that her ministers were not contented with the plunder of an impoverished state, but, by controlling their queen, were resolved to seize upon its liberties also.

A part of these complaints were true, and a part exaggerated; but the real crimes of the ministry, in the queen's eye, were their pride, their combinations, and their increasing power. The insolence of the duchess of Marlborough, who had hitherto possessed more power than the whole privy-council united, was now become

insupportable to her. The queen had entirely withdrawn her confidence from her; she resolved to seize the first opportunity of showing her resentment, and such an opportunity was not long wanting.

Upon the death of the earl of Essex, who was colonel of a regiment under the duke, the queen resolved to bestow it on a person who, she knew, was entirely displeasing to him. She therefore sent him word that she wished he would give it to Mr. Hill, brother to her favourite Mrs. Masham, as a person every way qualified for the command. The duke was struck with this request, which he considered as a previous step to his own disgrace. He represented to the queen the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of so young an officer, and the jealousy that would be felt by his seniors, never considering that he himself was a younger officer than many of those he commanded. He expostulated with her on this extraordinary mark of partiality in favour of Mrs. Masham's brother, who had treated him with such peculiar ingratitude. To all this the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. He retired in disgust, and sat down to prepare a letter to the queen, in which he begged leave to resign all his employments.

In the mean time the queen, who was conscious of the popularity of her conduct, went to the council, where she seemed not to take the least notice of the duke's absence. The whole junto of his friends, which almost entirely composed the council, did not fail to alarm her with the consequences of disobliging so useful a servant. She therefore for some time dissembled her resentment; and even went so far as to send the duke a letter, empowering him to dispose of the regiment as he thought proper. But still she was too sensibly mortified at many parts of his conduct, not to wish for his removal; yet

for the present she insisted on his continuing in command.

She acted with less duplicity towards the duchess, who supposing, from the queen's present condescension, that she was willing to be pacified, resolved once more to practise the long forgotten arts by which she rose. She therefore demanded an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, by tears, entreaties, and supplications. But all her humiliations served only to render her more contemptible to herself. The queen heard her without exhibiting the least emotion of tenderness or pity. The only answer she gave to the torrent of the other's entreaties, was a repetition of an insolent expression used in one of this lady's own letters to her: "You desired no answer, and you shall have none."

It was only by insensible degrees that the queen seemed to acquire courage enough to second her inclinations, and depose a ministry that had long been disagreeable to her. Harley, however, who still shared her confidence, did not fail to inculcate the popularity, the justice, and the security of such a measure; and in consequence of his advice, she began the changes, by transferring the post of lord-chamberlain from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimate correspondence with Mr. Harley. Soon after, the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, and son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was displaced, and the earl of Dartmouth put in his room. Finding that she was rather applauded than condemned for this resolute proceeding, she resolved to become entirely free.

In these revolutions she was strengthened by the duke of Beaufort, who, coming to court on this occa-

sion, informed her majesty that he came once more to pay his duty to the *queen*. The whole Whig party were in consternation; they influenced the directors of the Bank, so far as to assure her majesty that public credit would be entirely ruined by this change in the ministry. The Dutch moved heaven and earth with memorials and threats, should a change take place. However, the queen went forward in her designs: soon after, the earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley who was also appointed chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers. The staff of lord-steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord-chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and then given to sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord lieutenant of Ireland; and that employment was conferred upon the duke of Ormond. Mr. Granville was appointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole; and in a word, there was not one Whig left in the offices of the state, except the duke of Marlborough. He was still continued the reluctant general of the army; but he justly considered himself as a ruin entirely undermined, and just ready to fall.

But the triumph was not complete, until the parliament had confirmed and approved the queen's choice. The queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour. The two houses were ardent in their expressions of zeal and unanimity. They exhorted her to discountenance all such principles and measures as had so lately threatened her royal crown

and dignity. This was but an opening to what soon followed. The duke of Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of their hatred and reproach. His avarice was justly upbraided; his protracting the war was said to arise from that motive. Instances were every where given of his fraud and extortion. These might be true: but party had no moderation, and even his courage and conduct were called in question. To mortify the duke still more, the thanks of the house of commons were voted to the earl of Peterborough for his services in Spain, when they were refused to the duke for those in Flanders; and the lord-keeper, who delivered them to Peterborough, took occasion to drop some reflections against the mercenary disposition of his rival.

In this ebullition of party-resentment, Harley, who first raised the ferment, still kept the appearance of moderation, and even became suspected by his more violent associates as a luke-warm friend to the cause. An accident increased his confidence with his own party, and fixed him for a time securely in the queen's favour. One Guiscard, a French officer, who had made some useful informations relative to the affairs of France,

A. D. thought himself ill rewarded for his services to 1711. the crown by a precarious pension of four hundred pounds a-year. He had often endeavoured to gain access to the queen, but was still repulsed either by Harley or St. John. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris. His letters, however, were intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high-treason. Conscious of his guilt, and knowing

that the charge could be proved against him, he did not decline his fate, but resolved to sweeten his death by vengeance. Being conveyed before the council convened at the Cock-pit, he perceived a penknife lying upon the table, and took it up without being observed by any of the attendants. When questioned before the members of the council, he endeavoured to evade his examination, and entreated to speak with Mr. Secretary St. John in private. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard! not one word!" Upon which, as St. John was out of reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and crying out, "Have at *thee* then!" he stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. The blade of the knife broke upon the rib, without entering the cavity of the breast; nevertheless he repeated the blow with such violence that Harley fell to the ground. St. John perceiving what had happened, instantly drew his sword; and others following his example, Guiscard was wounded in several places. But he still continued to strike and defend himself, till at last he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene, occasioned by the bruises which he had sustained. This unsuccessful attempt served to establish the credit of Harley; and, as he appeared the enemy of France, no doubt was made of his being the friend of England.

This accident served to demonstrate the political rectitude of the ministry, with respect to the state. A bill which they brought in, and passed through both houses, served to assure the nation of their fidelity to the church. This was an act for building fifty new

churches in the city and suburbs of London, and a duty on coal was appropriated for this purpose.

Nothing now remained of the Whig system, upon which this reign was begun, but the war, which continued to rage as fiercely as ever, and which increased in expense every year as it went on. It was the resolution of the present ministry to put an end to it at any rate, as it had involved the nation in debt almost to bankruptcy, and as it promised, instead of humbling the enemy, only to become habitual to the constitution. However, it was a very delicate point for the ministry, at present, to stem the tide of popular prejudice in favour of its continuance. The nation had been intoxicated with a childish idea of military glory, and panted for triumphs of which they neither saw nor felt the benefit. The pleasure of talking at their entertainments and meetings of their distant conquests, and of extolling the bravery of their acquaintance, was all the return they were likely to receive for a diminished people, and an exhausted exchequer. The first doubts of the expediency of continuing the war, were introduced into the house of commons. The members made a remonstrance to the queen, in which they complained loudly of the former administration. They said, that in tracing the causes of the national debt, they had discovered great frauds and embezzlements of the public money. They affirmed that irreparable mischief would have ensued, if the former ministers had been suffered to continue in office; and they thanked the queen for their dismissal.

Having thus prepared the nation, it only now remained to remove the duke of Marlborough from his post, as he would endeavour to traverse all their negotiations. But here again a difficulty started; this step

could not be taken without giving offence to the Dutch, who placed entire confidence in him : they were obliged, therefore, to wait for some convenient occasion. But, in the mean time, the duke headed his army in Flanders, and led on his forces against marshal Villars, who seemed resolved to hazard a battle. His last attempt in the field is said, by those who understand the art of war, to have excelled every former exploit. He contrived his measures so, that he induced the enemy, by marching and countermarching, to resign, without a blow, a strong line of entrenchments, of which he unexpectedly took possession. The capture of Bouchain followed this enterprise, which capitulated after a siege of twenty days ; and this was the last military expedition that the duke of Marlborough performed. And now, by a continuance of conduct and success, by ever advancing, and never losing an advantage, by gaining the enemy's posts without fighting, and the confidence of his own soldiers without generosity, the duke ended his campaigns, by leaving the allies in possession of a vast tract of country. They had reduced under their command Spanish Guelderland, Limbourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault ; they were masters of the Scarpe, and the capture of Bouchain had opened them a way into the very bowels of France. Upon his return from this campaign, he was accused of having taken a bribe of six thousand pounds a year from a Jew, who contracted to supply the army with bread ; and the queen thought proper to dismiss him from all his employments.

This was the pretext of which his enemies made use ; but his fall had been predetermined : and, though his receiving such a bribe was not the real cause of his removal, yet candour must confess that it ought to have been so. The desire of accumulating money was a

passion that attended this general in all his triumphs ; and by this he threw a stain upon his character, which all his great abilities have not been able to remove. He not only received this gratuity from Medina the Jew, but he was also allowed ten thousand pounds a year from the queen ; to this he added a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England ; and all this over and above his ordinary pay as general of the British forces. Many excuses might have been given for his acceptance of these sums : but a great character ought not to stand in need of any excuse.

CHAPTER XXI.

ANNE. (Continued.)

A. D. 1711—1714.

WAR seems, in general, more adapted to the temper and the courage of the Whigs than the Tories. The former, restless, active, and ungovernable, seem to delight in the struggle ; the latter, submissive, temperate, and weak, more willingly cultivate the arts of peace, and are content in prosperity. Through the course of the English history, France seems to have been the peculiar object of the hatred of the Whigs ; and a constitutional war with that country seems to have been their aim. On the contrary, the Tories have been found to regard that nation with no such opposition of principle ; and a peace with France has generally been the result of a Tory administration. For some time, therefore, before the dismissal of Marlborough, a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France

and the new ministry. They had a double aim in bringing this about. It would serve to mortify the Whigs, and it would free their country from a ruinous and unnecessary war.

The motives of every political measure, where faction enters, are partly good and partly evil. The present ministers were, without doubt, actuated as well by hatred on one hand, as impelled by a love of their country on the other. They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for the subjects of Great Britain, as would silence all detraction. They were not so mindful of the interests of the Dutch, as they knew that people to be but too attentive to those interests themselves. In order, therefore, to come as soon as possible to the end in view, the earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the queen's earnest desire for peace, and her wish for a renewal of the conference. This intimation was delivered by one Gaultier, an obscure priest, who was chaplain to the imperial ambassador, and a spy for the French. The message was received with great pleasure at the French court, and an answer was returned, ardently professing the same inclinations. This led the way to a reply, and soon after to a more definitive memorial from the court of France, which was immediately transmitted to the Dutch by the queen, for their approbation.

The states-general, having perused the French memorial, assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that the French king would be more explicit in his offers towards settling the repose of Europe. In order to give the Dutch some satisfaction in this particular, a previous conference between the French and English courts took

place. Prior, much more famous as a poet than a statesman, was sent over with proposals to France; and Menager, a man of no great station, returned with Prior to London, with full powers to treat upon the preliminaries. After many long and intricate debates, certain preliminary articles were at last agreed on, and signed by the English and French ministers, in consequence of a written order from her majesty.

The ministry having proceeded thus far, the great difficulty still lay before them, of making the terms of peace agreeable to all the confederates. The earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary Heinsius the preliminary proposals, to signify the queen's approbation of them, and to propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The Dutch were very unwilling to begin the conference, upon the inspection of the preliminaries. They sent over an envoy to attempt to turn the queen from her resolution; but, finding their efforts vain, they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference; and they granted passports to the French ministers accordingly.

Many were the methods practised by the Dutch, as well as by the Germans, to frustrate the negotiations of this congress. The emperor wrote circular letters to the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their former engagements. His ambassador in London, procuring a copy of the preliminary articles, had them inserted in a common newspaper, in order to throw blame upon the ministry, and render their proceedings odious to the people. The Dutch began to complain of perfidy, and laboured to raise a discontent in England against the measures then in speculation. The Whigs in London did not fail to second their efforts with all

the arts of clamour, ridicule, and reproach. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, were every day published by one faction, and, the next, were answered by the other. But the confederates took a step from which they hoped success from the greatness of the agent whom they employed. Prince Eugene, who had been long famous for his talents in the cabinet and in the field, was sent over with a letter from the emperor to the queen. But his intrigues and his arts were unable to prevail; he found at court, indeed, a polite reception, such as was due to his merits and his fame, but at the same time such a repulse as the private proposals he carried seemed to deserve. Still measures for the conference were going forward, and the ministry were determined to drive them on to a conclusion.

However, before we mention the result of this great congress, it may be necessary to apprise the reader, that many of the motives which first incited each side to take up arms were now no more. Charles of Austria, for whose cause England had spent so much blood and treasure, was, by the death of his elder brother, the emperor Joseph, placed on the imperial throne. There was, therefore, every reason for not supporting his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy; and the same jealousy which invited him to that kingdom, was necessary to be exerted in keeping him out of it. The elector of Bavaria, who was intimately connected with the French, was now detached from them; and the Dutch, who had trembled for their barrier, were encroaching upon that of the enemy. Thus accident and success gave almost every power, but France and England, all that war could ever grant; and though they should be crowned with the greatest successes, it was the interest of England that her allies should be reinstated in their rights, but not rendered too powerful.

A. D. The conferences began at Utrecht, under the 1712. conduct of Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the earl of Strafford, on the side of the English ; of Buys and Vanderdussen, on the part of the Dutch ; and of the marechal D'Uxelles, the cardinal Polignac, and M. Menager, in behalf of France. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy assisted, and the other allies sent also plenipotentiaries, though with the utmost reluctance. As England and France were the only two powers that were seriously inclined to peace, it may be supposed that all the other deputies served rather to retard than advance its progress. They met rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to quiet the dissensions of Europe. The emperor insisted obstinately upon his claim to the Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least tittle of his pretensions. The Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries, which Louis had formerly rejected. They practised a thousand little arts to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealousy of Louis, to blacken the characters of her ministry, and to keep up a dangerous ferment among the people.

The English ministry were sensible of the dangerous and difficult task they had to sustain. The confederates were entirely against them ; a violent and desperate party at home, who never let any government rest, except when themselves were in power, opposed ; and none seconded their efforts heartily, but the commons, and the queen, whose health was visibly declining. They had, by a bold measure, indeed, secured the house of lords on their side, by creating twelve new peers in one day ; and this turned the balance, which was yet wavering, in their favour. But, in their present situation, dispatch was greatly requisite. In case of their sovereign's death, they had nothing to expect but pro-

secution and ruin for obeying her commands, unless time should be given to draw the people from the intoxication of their successes, and until the utility of their measures should be justified by the people's happy experience. Thus the peace was hastened, and this haste relaxed the rigour of the English ministers, in insisting upon such terms and advantages as they had a right to demand.

With these views, finding multiplied obstructions from the deliberations of the allies, they set on foot a private negotiation with France. They stipulated certain advantages for the subjects of Great Britain, in a concerted plan of peace. They resolved to enter into such mutual confidence with the French, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to the prejudice of the coalition. These articles were privately regulated between the two courts; but, being the result of haste and necessity, they were not quite so favourable to the English interests as the sanguine part of the nation were taught to expect.

Meanwhile the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht proceeded so far as to deliver their proposals in writing, under the name of specific offers, which the confederates treated with indignation and contempt, who, on the other hand, drew up their specific demands, which were considered as highly extravagant by the ministers of France. Conference followed conference; but still the contending parties continued as remote from each other as when they began. The English, willing to include their allies, if possible, in the treaty, departed from some of their secret pretensions, in order to gratify the Dutch with the possession of some towns in Flanders. They consented to admit that nation into a participation of some advantages in commerce. The queen, therefore, finding the confederates still obstinately at-

tached to their first preliminaries, gave them to understand, that, as they failed to co-operate with her openly and sincerely, and had made such bad returns for her condescension towards them, she looked upon herself as released from all engagements.

The first instance of displeasure which was shown to the confederates, was by an order given to the English army in Flanders not to act upon the offensive. Upon the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond had been invested with the supreme command of the British forces; but with particular directions that he should not hazard an engagement. However, he joined prince Eugene at Tournay, who, not being let into the secret, advised an attack of Villars; but he soon found how affairs stood with his coadjutor. Ormond himself seemed extremely uneasy at his situation; and, in a letter to the secretary in England, desired permission to return home. But the confederates were loud in their complaints; they expostulated with the ministers at Utrecht upon so perfidious a conduct; but they were told that letters had been lately received from the queen, in which she complained that as the states-général had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprised, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures to obtain a peace for her own advantage.

But the Dutch did not rest here. They had a powerful party in the house of lords, and there they resolved to arraign the conduct of the ministry. Lord Halifax descanted on the ill consequences of the duke of Ormond's refusing to co-operate with prince Eugene, and moved for an address to her majesty to loose the hands of the English general. It was urged that nothing could be more disgraceful to the duke himself than being thus set at the head of an army without a power of

acting. But earl Poulet replied, that though none could doubt of the duke of Ormond's courage, he was not like a certain general who led troops to the slaughter, in hopes that a great number of officers might be knocked on the head, that he might increase his treasures by disposing of their commissions. The duke of Marlborough, who was present, was so deeply affected at this malicious insinuation, that he sent the earl a challenge the next day; but the nature of the message coming to the queen's ears, the duke was ordered to proceed no farther in the quarrel.

In the mean time the allies, deprived of the assistance of the English, still continued their animosity against the French, and were resolved to continue the war separately. They had the utmost confidence in prince Eugene, their general; and, though lessened by the defection of the British forces, they were still superior to those of the enemy, commanded by marshal Villars. But the loss of the British forces was soon severely felt by the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops, encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either destroyed or taken. The earl himself, and all the surviving officers, were made prisoners of war. These successes of Villars served to hasten the treaty of Utrecht. The great obstacle which retarded that peace which France and England seemed so ardently to desire, was the settling the succession to the kingdoms of France and Spain. The danger that threatened the interest of Europe was, lest both kingdoms should be united under one sovereign; and Philip, who was now king of Spain, stood next in succession to the crown of France, except with the interposition of one child (afterwards Louis XV.) who was then sickly. Philip, how-

ever, after many expedients, at last resolved to wave his pretensions to the French monarchy; and the treaty went forward with rapidity and success.

In the beginning of August, secretary St. John, now created viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles to remove all obstructions to the separate treaty. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior and the abbé Gaultier, and treated with the most distinguished marks of respect. He was caressed by the French king, and the marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria. This negotiation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France.

In the mean time the articles of the intended treaty were warmly canvassed among all ranks of people in London. A duel, which was fought between the duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun, in which they were both killed, served to exasperate the Whigs and Tories against each other. The subject of the duel is said to have been a lawsuit; but, Mohun being considered as a bully in favour of the Whigs, the Tories exclaimed against the event as a party-duel, and absurdly affirmed that a plot was laid against the life of the duke of Hamilton. Mobs now began to be hired by both factions, and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. In this scene of confusion, the duke of Marlborough, hearing himself accused as the secret author of these mischiefs, thought proper to retire to the continent; and his retreat was compared by his party to that of Scipio from Rome, after he had saved his country.

At length, the treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being agreed on 1713. by the plenipotentiaries on either side, and rati-

fied by the queen, she acquainted her parliament with the steps she had taken. She informed them of her precautions to secure them the succession of a protestant king; and desired them to consider by her actions whether she ever meant to divide her interests from the house of Hanover. She left it to the commons to determine what forces, and what supplies, might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. "Make yourselves safe," said she, "and I shall be satisfied. The affection of my people, and the providence of Heaven, are the only guards I ask for my protection." Both houses returned warm addresses; and, the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, to the inexpressible joy of the majority of the nation.

The articles of this famous peace were longer canvassed, and more warmly debated, than those of any other treaty read of in history. The number of different interests concerned, and the great enmity and jealousy subsisting between all, made it impossible that all could be satisfied; and indeed there seemed no other method of obtaining peace, but that which was taken, for the two principal powers concerned to make their own articles, and to leave the rest for a subject of future discussion.

The first stipulation was, that Philip, now acknowledged king of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two such powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of Europe. It was agreed that the duke of Berry, Philip's brother, and after him in succession, should also renounce his right to the throne of Spain, in case of his acquisition of the French crown. It was stipulated that the duke of Savoy should possess the island of Sicily, with the title of king, together with Pontefrettes, and other

places on the continent, which increase of dominion was, in some measure, made out of the spoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had that benefit granted them which they so long sought after; and if the borders of France was deprived of some dominions to enrich the duke of Savoy, on the other hand, the house of Austria was taxed to supply the wants of the Hollanders, who were put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. With regard to England, its glory and its interests were secured. The fortifications of Dunkirk, to harbour that might be dangerous to their trade, its arms of war, were ordered to be demolished, and its port destroyed. Spain gave up all right to Gibraltar, and the Island of Minorca. The French resigned their pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; but they were left in possession of Cape Breton, and the liberty of drying their fish upon the shore. Among the articles granted to the English nation, their setting free the French protestants, detained in the prisons and galleys for their religion, was not the least meritorious. For the emperor is stipulated, that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands. The king of Prussia was to have Upper Guelderland; and a time was fixed for the emperor's attending to these articles, as he had for some time obstinately refused to assist at the negotiation. Thus Europe seemed to be formed into one great republic, the different members of which were entrusted out to different governors, and the constitution of any one state alienable to the tribunal of all. Thus it appears that the English ministry did justice to all the world, but their country denied that justice to them. Some Tenth Jurings being required, The Dutch and the Imperialists, after complaining of this desertion of their allies, resolved to hold out for

some time. But they also soon after concluded a peace, the one by the barrier treaty, and the other by the treaty of Rastadt, in which their interests were ascertained, and the treaty of Utrecht confirmed. And now the English, being in this manner freed from all their foreign enemies, had now full leisure to visit at home their domestic dissensions. The two parties never contended with greater animosity, or greater injustice, against each other. No merits could be allowed to those of the opposite faction, and no weakness to their own. Whether it was at this time the wish of the ministers to alter the succession of the crown from the house of Hanover to the Pretender, has not now been clearly made out: but it is that the Whigs believed it as certain, and the Tories but faintly denied the charge. The suspicions of that party became every day stronger, particularly when they saw a total removal of the Whigs from all places of trust and confidence throughout the kingdom, and their employments bestowed on professed Tories, supposed to be maintainers of an unbroken hereditary succession. The Whigs were all in connexion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, a design in favour of the Pretender; and their reports went so far as to assert that he was actually concealed in London; and that he had held several conferences with the ministers of state. Be this as it will, the chiefs of the Whig faction held secret conferences with baron Schurz, resident from the court of Hanover. They communicated their fears and apprehensions to the elector, who, before he arrived in England, or considered the spirit of parties, was thoroughly prejudiced against the Tories. In return, they gave him his instructions, and were taught to expect his favor in case of his succession. The house of lords

around to share in the general apprehensions. The queen was addressed to know what steps had been taken for removing the Pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorraine. They begged she would give them a list of such persons as, having been once attainted for their political misconduct, had obtained licence to return into Great-Britain since the Revolution. Mr. Steele, afterwards known as the celebrated Sir Richard Steele, was not a little active in stirring and spreading these reports. In a pamphlet written by him, called the Crisis, he bitterly sustained against the ministry, and the immediate danger of their bringing in the Pretender. The house of commons considered this performance as a scandalous and seditious libel; and Steele was expelled from the house of commons.

But while the Whigs were attacking the ministers from without, there were in much greater danger from their own internal dissensions. Hayley was created Earl of Oxford, and St. John viscount Bolingbroke. Though they had started with the same principles and designs, yet, having vanquished other opposers, they now began to turn their strength against each other. Never were two tempers worse matched to carry on business together: Oxford, cautious, slow, diffident, and reserved; Bolingbroke, hot, eager, impetuous, and proud: the first of great erudition, the latter of great natural capacity; the first obstinate in command, the other reluctant to obey: the first bent on maintaining that rank in the administration which he had obtained upon the dissolution of the last ministry; the other disdaining to act as a subaltern to a man whom he thought himself able to instruct. Both, therefore, began to form separate interests, and to adopt different principles. Oxford's plan was the more moderate;

Bolingbroke's the more rigorous, but the less secure. Oxford, it is thought, was entirely for the Hanoverian succession; Bolingbroke had some hopes of bringing in the Pretender. But though they hated each other most sincerely, yet they were for a while kept together by the good offices of their friends and adherents, who had the melancholy prospect of seeing the citadel of their hopes, while openly besieged from without, secretly undermining within.

This was a mortifying prospect to the Tories; but it was more particularly displeasing to the queen, who daily saw her favourite ministry declining; while her own health kept pace with their contentions. Her constitution was now quite broken. One fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind. The council-chamber was for some time turned into a scene of obstinate dispute, and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence, the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. As Oxford foresaw that the Whig ministry would force themselves in, he was for moderate measures. Bolingbroke, on the contrary, was for setting the Whigs at defiance, and flattered the queen, by giving way to all her favourite attachments. At length, their animosities coming to a height, Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of public transactions, in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke accused the treasurer of having invited the duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and of maintaining a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. In consequence of this, and the intrigues of lady Masham, who now seconded the aims of Bolingbroke, Oxford

was removed from his employment, and his rivals seemed to triumph in his new victory. But this paltry triumph was of short duration. Be-
 longed for a while seemed to enjoy the confusion he
 had made, and the whole state being driven into dis-
 order by the suddenness of the treasurer's fall, did not
 seem, considering that he must be called upon to re-
 medy every inconvenience. But the queen's declining
 health soon began to give him a dreadful prospect of
 his own situation, and the triumph of his enemies. At
 to plan had been adopted for supplying the vacancy
 of the treasurer, the queen was perplexed and harassed
 with the choice, and she had no longer strength left to
 support the fatigue. It had such an effect upon her
 spirits and constitution, that she declared she could not
 outlive it, and immediately sunk into a state of lethargic
 insensibility. Notwithstanding all the medicines
 which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper
 gained ground so fast, that the day after, they despair-
 ed of her life, and the privy council was assembled on
 the occasion. The dukes of Somerset and Argle,
 being informed of the desperate state in which she lay,
 entered the council chamber without being summoned,
 to the great surprise of the Tory members, who did
 not expect their appearance. The duke of Shrews-
 bury thanked them for their readiness to give their as-
 sistance at such a critical juncture, and desired them to
 take their places. The physicians having declared that
 the queen was still in her senses, the council unanim-
 ously agreed that the duke of Shrewsbury was the
 fittest person to be appointed to the vacant office of
 treasurer. Thus Holingbrooke's ambition was defeated,
 just when he thought himself secure. In order to a
 the other members of the privy council, without dis-
 tinction, being now summoned from the different parts

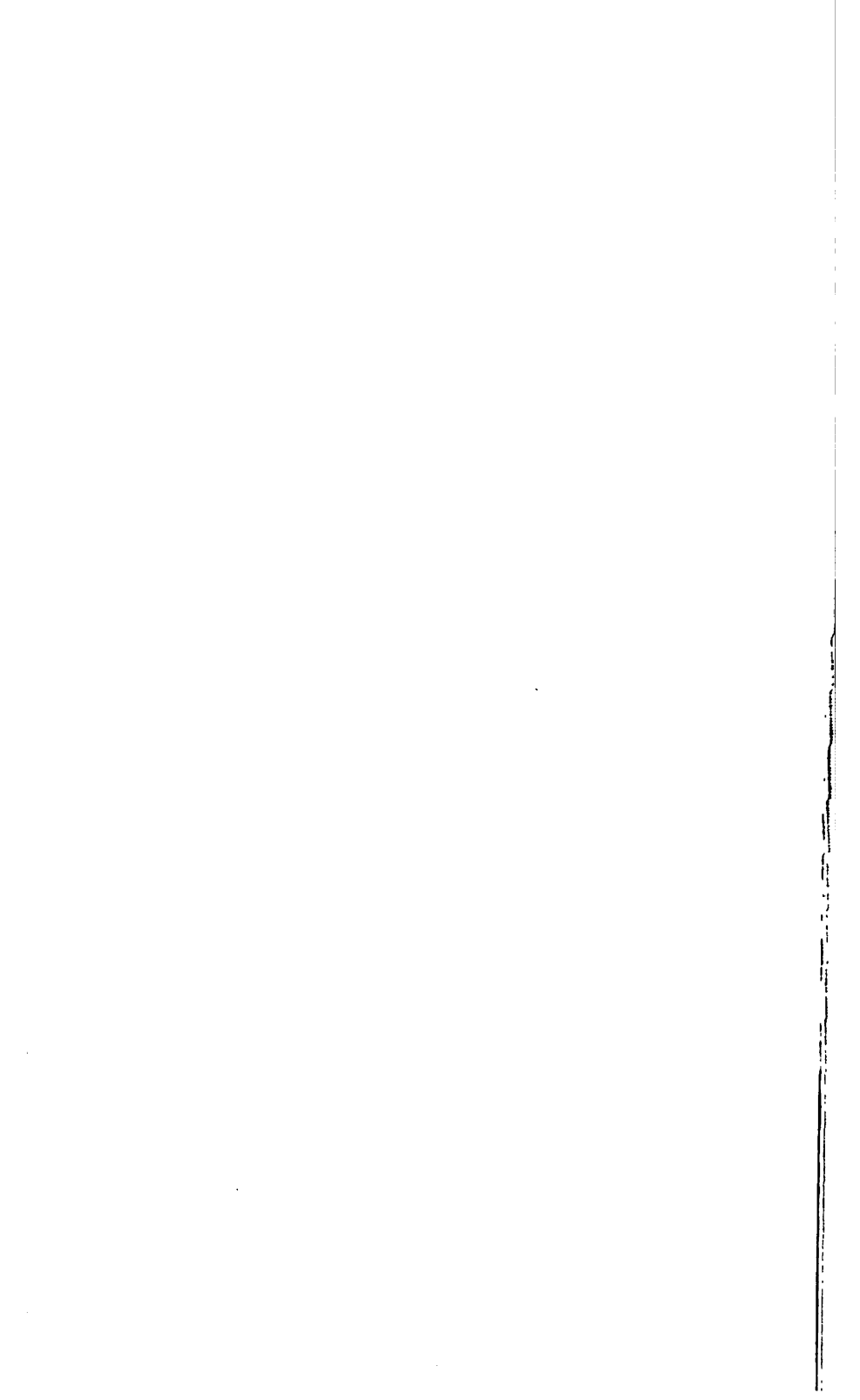
of the kingdom, began to provide for the security of the constitution. They sent a letter to the elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's desperate situation, and desiring him to repair to Holland, where he would be attended by a British squadron to convey him to England. At the same time, they dispatched instructions to the earl of Strafford at the Hague, to desire the states-general to be ready to perform the guaranty of the protestant succession. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkeley, a professed Whig. These measures, which were all dictated by that party, answered a double end. It argued their own alacrity in the cause of their new sovereign, and seemed to imply a danger to the state from the disaffection of the opposite interest.

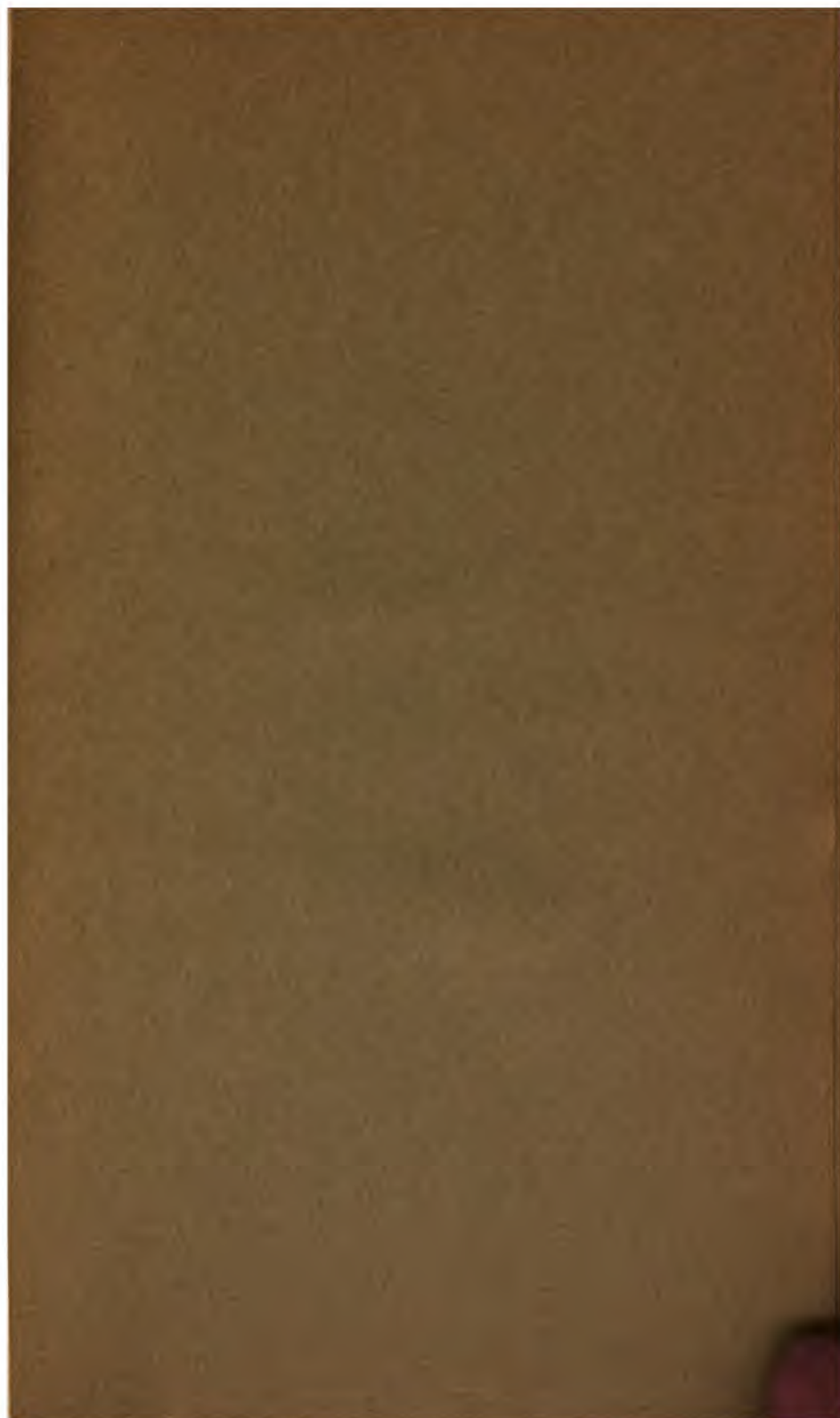
On the thirtieth of July, the queen seemed somewhat relieved by medicines, rose from her bed about eight o'clock, and walked a little. After sometimes casting her eyes on a clock that stood in her chamber, she continued to gaze at it for some minutes. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual; to which the queen only answered, by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. She was soon after seized with a fit of apoplexy, from which, however, she was somewhat recovered by the assistance of Dr. Mead. She continued all night in a state of stupor. She gave some signs of life between twelve and one the next day; but expired the following morning, August 1, 1714, a little after seven o'clock, in the fiftieth year of her age. She reigned more than twelve years over a people renowned to the highest pitch of refinement, who had attained by their wisdom all the advantages of opulence, and by their valour all the happiness of security and conquest.

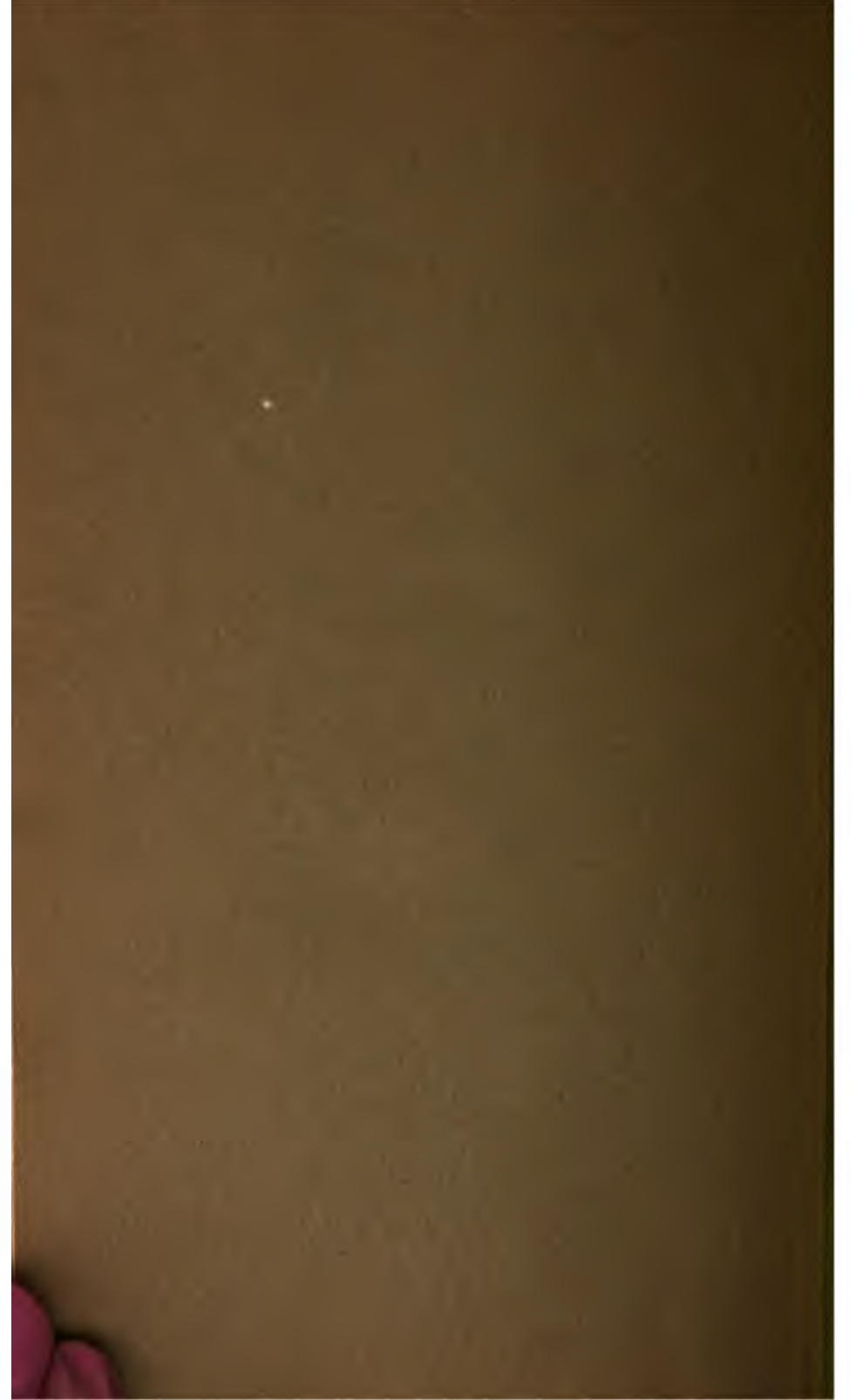
This princess was rather amiable than great, rather pleasing than beautiful ; neither her capacity nor learning was remarkable. Like the rest of her family, she seemed rather fitted for the private duties of life than a public station, being a pattern of conjugal fidelity, a good mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress. During her reign, none suffered on the scaffold for treason ; for, when an oppressed faction takes the lead, it is seldom cruel. In her ended the line of the Stuarts ; a family whose misfortunes and misconduct are not to be paralleled in history ; a family, who, less than men themselves, seemed to expect from their followers more than manhood in their defence ; a family that never rewarded their friends, and never avenged them of their enemies.

END OF VOL. II.









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